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INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Industrial Workers of the World

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Workers' Lives/Workers'Stories

Labor Theatre Group Becomes IWW Shop

"The labor movement got weak when it stopped singing," says Elise Bryant, artist, educator, and Wobbly. Elise is a member of the multi-ethnic theatrical troupe Workers' Lives/Workers' Stories. The troupe is helping the labor movement to sing again by performing theatre, song, and poetry created by, for and about working people in union halls around the country. The seven troupe members include a truck driver, an auto assembler, a painter, two artists and two who work with children.

Workers' Lives was formed in 1982 when staff at the Labor Studies Center (Ann Arbor, Michigan) sent notices to unions in the area calling for rank-and-filers to help form a workers' performing group. Membership has evolved slowly over the years with the current group having been together since 1986. New participants are always welcome.

"Workingclass culture is seperate from mass media culture. Ours is not the homogenized melting pot. Not consume, consume, consume at any expense. No TV characters are real working people. The only images in the mass media are negative ones. Dumb, loudmouthed, wife-battering Ralph Cramden/Archie Bunker types with the perpetually dizzy wife. Our culture doesn't get a venue; in a sense, that means we're getting killed." In contrast, the troupe's performances inspire feelings of dignity and empowerment in workingclass audiences.

Most of the troupe's material is original. "The old songs are alright, and we have to know our history to know where we've come from, but it's not enough. We need to sing with the creative spirit and solidarity Joe Hill had. Just re-singing the old words is not enough. Culture moves a people forward. We have to create our own songs and stories. Now. For this time, for these lives."

Workers' Lives/Workers' Stories performances are inspiring. The troupe has performed for gatherings of chemical workers, for AFSCME, the UAW, CWA and other unions. "We have more material about Central America than some might expect. Some people don't want to think about what's happening there and our performances make people think. Our piece "Rich Woman, Poor Woman" is gut-wrenching. If some who hire us don't agree with everything we have to say they still come away with a positive feeling.

"People get a sense of empowerment and dignity as working people from our performances. They re-tell *their own* stories. Remember what their old man said. We always close with *Solidarity Forever.* People come up and say they've sung that song 6 zillion times but never really felt it till tonight. There is a spirit of fellowship in the room after a performance. You can feel that the labor movement is not dead. Its alive and its here and its us and we're going to keep going until we get it right. Hope. Reaffirmation. That is what art is supposed to do."

Labor singer Pete Seeger performed a benefit for the group in September. On stage he told the troupe "I think you're doing the most important work in the labor movement today."

Becoming an IWW shop is important to the group. The members each want to affiliate with the same union, negotiate contracts, and have a structure which supports their principles of workers' control. "It is important that we develop as cultural workers. The union we work for needs to recognise that what we do onstage is work. We are working people who work hard at our art for our people."

Workers Self-Organization

Discussed at St. Louis Conference.

The weekend of November 11-13 saw from 50 to 75 workers and worker-intellectuals gather at the campus of Washington University in St. Louis, Missourri for the first annual Conference on Workers' Self Organization. The conference, co-sponsored by the Chicago Branch of the IWW, the New Union Party, The Socialist Party USA, Workers' Democracy and the Workers Solidarity Alliance (US affiliate of the anarcho-syndicalist International Workers' Association), drew participants from both coasts of the United States as well as from the US midwest and Ontario, Canada.

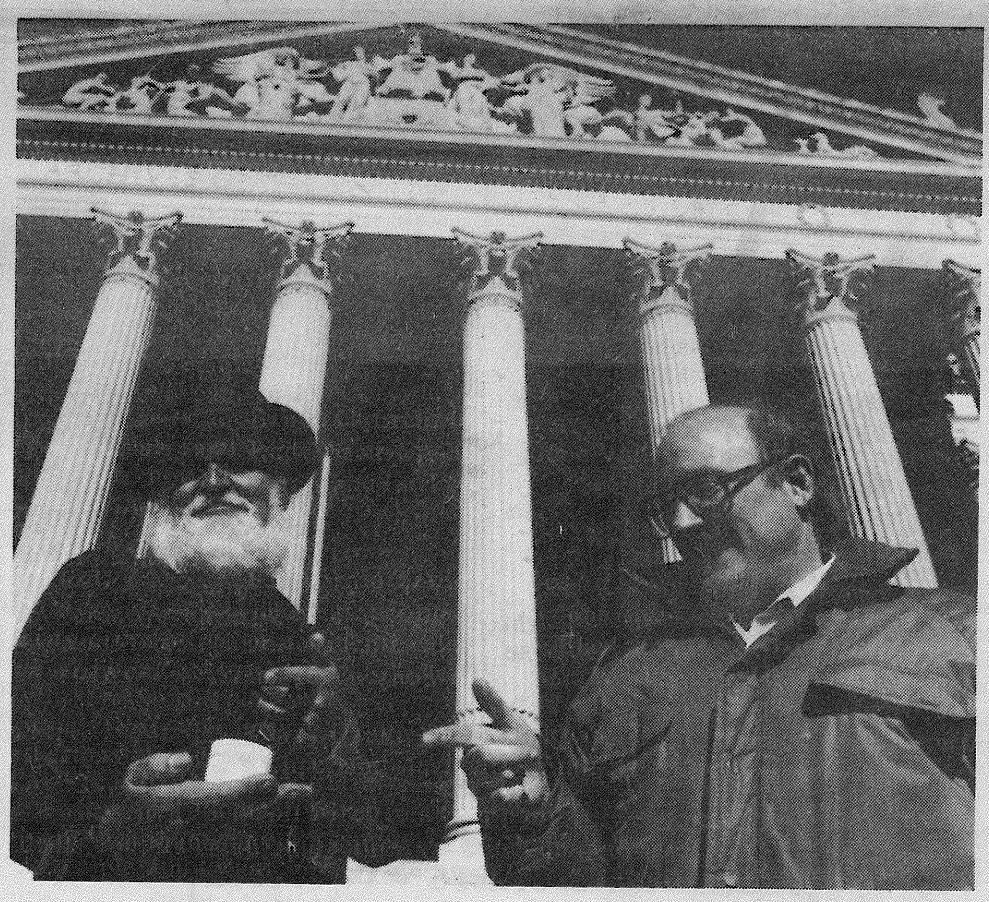
The main purpose of the conference was to examine instances, both historic and contemporary, in which the working class has acted outside of the boundaries of "normal" labor relations. To this end, participants discussed the historical examples of the mass occupations of industry in Italy in 1920 and the wildcat movement among American auto workers during World War II as well as the more contemporary worker revolts in Eastern Europe, the Philippines, South Africa, Spain and Canada. In this regard the struggles of the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (May First Movement of the Philippines), *La Coordinadora* (Spanish Dockworkers' Union) and the wildcat movement in Canada in the 1970s and 80s were highlighted. Participants were also treated to a number of films and videos relating to important efforts at worker organization including: "The Wobblies" (about the early history of the IWW); "Our Land Too: The Legacy of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union"; "March For Life" (the story of the 1986 mobilization of the Bolivian Miners in defense of their jobs and communities); and "Making History: St. Louis Gasworkers."

The discussion of the workers' movement in the US in the 1980s revealed that at the base of the labor movement there is a groping towards new approaches to organization distinct from the top-down, bureaucratic model of business unionism. This new movement, still in its infancy, is characterized by direct, horizontal links between workers in various locales and industries concretized in such examples as the numerous P-9 Support Committees set up during the Hormel strike and similar solidarity committees which have sprung up over the past decade to provide the types of support and communications among workers in struggle not provided by the trade union bureaucracy. Unresolved, however, in the discussion on the contemporary labor scene was the problem of the relationship of lower level union "leadership" towards rank-and-file activity. Does it lead to a break with, or transformation of, business unionism or, more likely, does it lead back to a reliance on leaders as such?

The problems of workingclass racism, transformations in the structure of the working class and its culture, the role of "intellectuals" in the new workers' movement, and the effects of automation on

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The IWW and Joe Hill Reunited



Utah Phillips and Fred Lee on the steps of the National Archives in Washington DC., November 18. Joe Hill's ashes are presently being kept at IWW headquarters in Chicago.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Dear *IW* Collective:

Some comments on the review "The Massachusetts Myth" in the October issue.

First, I question the value of even reviewing this book. Thousands of books are published each year which rank-and-file unionists do not need to read. Perhaps we should save our two or three dozen book reviews a year for books Wobblies *should* read.

Second, I prefer to read *IW* book reviews written by rank-and-file unionists. This review is written by someone who summarizes and praises business books for money. Do we need to print the comments of sold-out liberal intellectuals? Of self-described "professionals" - a term which basically means "I'm not a worker"?

Third, a mis-statement needs to



be corrected. In the last paragraph of the review JB tells us that MIT (a university with major military funding) charges the "reasonable" price of $17 for 350 pages. Labor-oriented publishers, claims JB, charge "bloated prices." No evidence is offered, because none exists.

The few labor-oriented publishers are, in fact, under-funded, not "bloated" with bucks. Singlejack Books. Charles Kerr. South End. There are a dedicated few.

The price these small presses charge per page is of course higher than the price charged per page for mass market bestsellers. The value to workers per page of reading, for example, *The Yale Strike* is arguably higher than that of reading some CIA ghosted thriller about a winnable World War III. The pro-labor publishers face high and rising production costs as well as incredible difficulties in achieving adequate (forget "mass") distribution. Freedom of the press belongs to those who own the press and the outlets.

For anyone to claim the pro-labor publishers charge "bloated prices" is to lie and deceive. From a professional praiser of business books it is to be expected. The claim, however, has no place in the *IW* and should have been edited out.

Solidarity. And overall I think your doing a wonderful job of improving the *Industrial Worker*.

Shop Rat
NYC
October 1988

Fellow Workers:

A belated thanks & congratulations for the "Radical Environmentalism" issue, and for your recognition of the connections and natural affinities between the IWW and Earth First! If we are to survive for much longer, workers' organizations need to realize the vital importance of environmental issues, and environmental organizations need to realize that there can be no long-term (and little short-term) progress in environmental protection without dismantling the social and economic institutions that victimize workers and the environment alike.

Also, congratulations on the "Workers of the World, Relax!" issue. Once again the IWW is ahead of its time. Simply creating "jobs" benefits neither the workers nor the environment, unless the social, economic, and ecological implications are considered.

It does no one any good, in the long term, to create jobs building Trident submarines, environmentally damaging factories and houses, or oil-gulping pollutant-spewing luxury cars - or "jobs" killing Salvadoran or Nicaraguan workers. Better we should all be creatively "unemployed." I, for one, have no intention of giving 40 hours a week to the bosses for the next thirty years (as Billy Joel sang, "If that's movin' up, I'm movin' out!").

The issue seemed to find great favor at the Northeast Regional IWW gathering at Wobble-In in August, where the assembled workers appreciated the "official" encouragement of our weekend of relaxation.

Hope to see more cutting-edge material along these lines, and to read soon about more succesful radical worker-environmentalist actions. I am peeling off my Greenpeace stickers and sending them back (in Business Reply envelopes!) with a letter. If Greenpeace wants to be part of the problem instead of part of the solution. . .

For One Big Union
and One Big Planet,
Greg DeCowsky
X337269

To the *Industrial Worker,*

If I could have written a last-minute campaign memo to George Bush or Michael Dukakis, I would have given them this advice:

Call for a return to tax brackets. By eliminating brackets, the 1986 Tax Reform Act gave wealthy taxpayers huge tax breaks at the expense of working and middle class taxpayers. A return to the bracket system would mean tax cuts for "main street" and tax hikes for "easy street."

Make the issue of campaign finance reform a patriotic one. If our high offices are for sale and foreigners are buying up America, what's to prevent foreigners from helping choose our leaders?

Call for restoration of full service to the Post Office. This year's cuts (combined with an increase in rates) saved little and inconvenienced many people. Postal service is a mainstream "people" program that most voters identify with.

Call for a federal radon testing program. Testing kits could be bought cheaply in volume and made available to citizens at their local post office.

Sincerely,
Jeff Bullock
Phoenixville, PA

Editorial

The foundations are shaking, the dollar is falling and the stock market is crapping in its pants; economists report that if nothing is done about the deficit that there will be high interest, inflation, a slow down in the economy and recession. So what is new? Did they really think they could raid the treasury in behalf of big business, every arms dealer with an idea, run up a national debt in eight years that stands unprecedented in the first two hundred years of the country; did they do that and believe there would be no consequence?

Throughout the presidential campaign president-elect George Bush ignored the real issues and spoke to awestruck followers of his great achievements. Well, in magnitude he was truthful, he was party to one of the greatest financial rapes of a country's treasury in history. Now, the fat is in the fire, considering the situation it seems like time for him to grab his winnings and head for the hills but he plans to do more.

One week after the election the news is out. The political pundits are calling these the last acts of the Reagan administration, but George is Ron's hand-picked boy just as little Danforth is George's. The Bush agenda began before the ballots were cold and to the labor organizations who supported Mr. Bush read it and weep. There is nothing sadder than a man who sprains his arm stabbing himself in the back.

1. the administration is preparing new rules to restrict the rights of people appealing decisions denying Social Security and Welfare benefits.
2. a program to randomly test all workers involved in the transportation sector. This includes four million people working as interstate truck and bus drivers; airline pilots; navigators; flight attendants; mechanics; railroad engineers, brakemen and conductors; subway engineers and bus drivers; pipeline workers and seamen with Coast Guard licenses.
3. notification to 80,000 farmers that they could lose their property because of delinquent loans.
4. relaxing labor rules to permit work in the home that has been banned since the 1940s.

This is only the beginning, the American voting populace has bought the Republican program for the White House hook, line and boot; by electing George Bush to the presidency they have demonstrated how effectively they can be snookered by blatant lies and slick television promotions. The concentration of the nation's industrial resources continues at an accelerated rate through relaxation of anti-trust enforcement allowing corporate takeovers and leveraged buyouts of unparalleled scale. The result of this supply-side tactic, rather than spurring increased market activity that would provide more revenue for the treasury is to create massive corporate debt, the interest on which being tax deductable will permit many of the largest corporations to get away paying no taxes at all in coming years. The burden will fall to the public; middle class and lower wage earners thru national debt, inevitable new taxes, eroding purchasing power and corporate consolidation that will produce new "efficiency," i.e., layoffs, fewer jobs, lower wages, and deterioration in the quality of both goods and services to the consumer. The only response to this must be for labor to stop its retreat, dig in and build a movement of Solidarity to support each sector of the workforce as it comes under attack. *An Injury to One is an Injury To All.* □

LABOR THEATER

Workers' Lives/Workers' Stories welcomes poems, songs and scripts by, for, and about workers. Send to:

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ONE UNION ONE LABEL ONE ENEMY

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It should be understood by members and others who read this paper that it is the policy of the IWW to designate as official any articles which have the regular official sanction. Anything not so designated is not official.--All other matter contained herein is the mere personal expression of the individual or individuals writing or editing the same.

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON! THERE CAN BE NO PEACE SO LONG AS HUNGER AND WANT ARE FOUND AMONG MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE AND THE FEW, WHO MAKE UP THE EMPLOYING CLASS, HAVE ALL THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE.

BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES A STRUGGLE MUST GO ON UNTIL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ORGANIZE AS A CLASS, TAKE POSSESSION OF THE EARTH AND THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION, AND ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM.

WE FIND THAT THE CENTERING OF THE MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES INTO FEWER AND FEWER HANDS MAKES THE TRADE UNIONS UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE EVER GROWING POWER OF THE EMPLOYING CLASS. THE TRADE UNIONS FOSTER A STATE OF AFFAIRS WHICH ALLOWS ONE SET OF WORKERS TO BE PITTED AGAINST ANOTHER SET OF WORKERS IN THE SAME INDUSTRY, THEREBY HELPING DEFEAT ONE ANOTHER IN WAGE WARS. MOREOVER, THE TRADE UNIONS AID THE EMPLOYING CLASS TO MISLEAD THE WORKERS INTO THE BELIEF THAT THE WORKING CLASS HAVE INTERESTS IN COMMON WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS.

THESE CONDITIONS CAN BE CHANGED AND THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS UPHELD ONLY BY AN ORGANIZATION FORMED IN SUCH A WAY THAT ALL ITS MEMBERS IN ANY ONE INDUSTRY, OR IN ALL INDUSTRIES IF NECESSARY, CEASE WORK WHENEVER A STRIKE OR LOCKOUT IS ON IN ANY DEPARTMENT THEREOF, THUS MAKING..... AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.

INSTEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOTTO, "A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR FAIR DAY'S WORK," WE MUST INSCRIBE ON OUR BANNER THE REVOLUTIONARY WATCHWORD, "ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM."

IT IS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS TO DO AWAY WITH CAPITALISM. THE ARMY OF PRODUCTION MUST BE ORGANIZED, NOT ONLY FOR THE EVERY-DAY STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALISTS, BUT ALSO TO CARRY ON PRODUCTION WHEN CAPITALISM SHALL HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN. BY ORGANIZING INDUSTRIALLY WE ARE FORMING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.

Teamsters for a Democratic Union

Optimism Marks TDU's 13th Annual Convention

Atlanta - On October 21-23, 1988, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union held their thirteenth annual convention in Atlanta, Georgia. The TDU, a rank-and-file reform movement, has worked for twelve years to try and instigate membership control of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Perhaps deliberately, the TDU chose Atlanta as the site of their convention: the very heart of the Mathis machine, and (symbolically) the kind of unionism the TDU has committed itself to change.

In August, Weldon Mathis, Secretary-Treasurer of the IBT, resigned as President of Local 728 here in Atlanta. His resignation coincided with a Department of Labor investigation into charges of voting fraud in the 1987 election of Local 728 officials. The current officers of Local 728 have sinced waived all defense to the charges and new elections will be held later this year.

The regional chapter of TDU, called Teamsters for Democracy, headed the opposition ticket to Welson Mathis and his cronies in the 1987 election and are confident of winning in a fair election this year. Don Scott, the TDU candidate for President of Local 728, addressed the convention on Saturday morning and affirmed that Atlanta is the third-fastest growing chapter of the TDU. Scott was optimistic about attracting even more rank-and-file Teamsters with the policies and principles of the TDU reform movement.

The program of the TDU consists of a rededication to organize the unorganized in the trucking industry; an end to jurisdictional raiding, as exhibited recently by the attempted takeover of the International Typographical Union which was voted down 2-1 by the TDU membership. The TDU is also committed to ending all two-tier wage contracts, re-negotiate the Master Freight Agreement, and seeks the rank-and-file election of Local and International officials and of all delegates to IBT conventions.

Approximately 500 Teamsters attended the TDU Convention, coming from all over the country to participate in three days of seminars and workshops. Some of these workshops consisted of organizer's training, workplace strategies, Teamster history, safety and health in the trucking industry, and how to put together a rank-and-file newsletter. A featured seminar was the RICO lawsuit by the Department of Justice and its implications for the rank-and-file Teamster. Workshops were also held on special interests and jurisdictional meetings.

Victor Reuther, an early member of the UAW and current member of the New Directions reform movement of the same union, attended Saturday in an informal question and answer session and was the concluding speaker on Sunday. Other guests and featured speakers were Nick Salvatore, Professor of History at Cornell University, Ray Rogers, head of Corporate Campaign, Inc., and Sherry Baron of the National Institute of Occupational Health and Safety.

The Teamsters for a Democratic Union have come a considerable way since 1975. They were instrumental this year in repealing the two-thirds majority rule that stipulated that all contracts negotiated by International Representatives were in effect unless overruled by two-thirds vote of the members involved. In the past, they have influenced the changing of bylaws in dozens of Teamster Locals and have made a militant stand for winning better contracts and fighting concessions. The TDU has tackled road-driver safety issues, protected health and pension funds, and improved the awareness and education of rank-and-file members.

The Teamsters of TDU were very optimistic at their Thirteenth Convention and plan further campaigns to safeguard the rights of members and bring democracy to the IBT. It is uncertain as to how many members of the three Teamster Locals in Atlanta attended the gathering. All three when contacted refused to speculate on the possible participation of rank-and-file members at the convention and all vehemently refused comment on the issue of the convention or the TDU itself.

Fellow Worker David Christian of the IWW attended the closing session on Sunday and was impressed with the enthusiam of the participants and with the quality of organization the TDU showed in their seminars and workshops. He was cordially received and greeted by the TDU staff people and special thanks goes to Frank DePino of the TDU national staff.

Ever since the days of Dan Tobin, who was president of the IBT from 1909-1953, graft and corruption has been rife in the IBT and has become synonomous with the Teamster name itself. Tobin turned the trade union into a lucrative empire for himself and his cronies, and was opposed for re-election only once in the last 43 years of his reign. That once was in 1953 when senility and the intrigues of Seattle Teamster Boss Dave Beck convinced the IBT executive board that younger fists were needed. Such a situation required a certain man. It is no accident of history that Jimmy Hoffa rose to power at this crucial time in the IBT. The greed of business unionism had for five decades blazed the trail for such a man as Hoffa.

The Teamsters for a Democratic Union seek to reverse this long trend of chronic malfeisance and turn the organization away from the 125 officials (who currently receive over $100,000) and get the union back in the hands of the membership. It is a long, difficult road the TDU has to follow: as Fellow Workers, we offer our solidarity and best wishes.

David Christian
Phillip Harris



Self-Organization

Continued from page 1

work and its discontents were also addressed.

Of course, the most interesting discussions took place off the conference floor as participants swapped "war stories" over drinks at a nearby watering hole or during lunch breaks. It was also at these times that we were able to make new contacts and renew old acquaintances.

All in all, conference-goers were pleased with both the turn out for the gathering and the level of discussion. It was decided in the end to explore the possibilities of holding a similar meeting next year, and a committee of volunteers was elected to carry out that task.

As a new labor movement in North America is struggling to be born, conferences such as this one held in St. Louis, the May Day Labor Conference organized by our Denver-Boulder fellow workers, and the annual *Labor Notes* conferences are important forums for militants to get together and discuss strategy and tactics and to learn from past struggles so that we can avoid the pitfalls of the past. In this way we can begin moving in the direction of our class's self-emancipation.

Mike Hargis

Poland: A Star is Dead

(Editor's note: The following article is a translation of a piece that appeared in the October 27, 1988 issue of the French anarchist weekly **Le Monde Libertaire**. *It is the "testimony," if you will, of a 28-year-old worker by the name of Stefan who is employed as a painter at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, Poland. He is one of the younger, radical workers who launched the August strikes at the shipyards despite the threats of management and the hesitations of the union leaders. He does not mince words regarding the role played by Walesa. As more recent events have shown -- the proposed closing of the Lenin yards; Walesa's strike-breaking role vis-a-vis the wildcats in response; and his (Walesa's) embrace of Thatcher and Bush, virulent anti-unionists that they are -- there is a real split within Solidarnosc between the veterans of 1980-81 and a younger generation of militants. This is the voice of one of those militants. Translation by Mike Hargis.)*

I have participated in the strikes of May and August. The May strike was a spontaneous movement; that of August was somewhat better organized. Some say that it was Walesa who launched this strike, this is a lie.

After the May strike, we created the group "dym" ("smoke"). That is to say, after May Solidarnosc was not dead: one heard about it on the buses, on the trams, in the trains, it hawked newspapers. Then the strikes erupted in Silesia. These strikes went on for days, but our leaders did not move. It was the group "dym" that proposed calling a meeting inside the shipyards to support the striking miners. We printed up a leaflet. Thursday (August 18) we were very coldly received in a meeting of the factory commission. The comrades spoke of a provocation, they asked us, "Who gave you permission to do this on your own." This leaflet caused quite a stir. Then on Friday (August 19) the (solidarity) meeting took place, during the breakfast break. Walesa was at the meeting. He saw me passing by and called out to me: "You there, you know how to play the guitar, but apart from that..."; he didn't finish but I could guess the rest. Walesa declared to the guys assembled in front of the entrance to the K1 plant that, if the situation didn't change, the strike would begin on Monday. Later, over the weekend, Walesa said it could wait another week.



.. But, in the shop committee meeting, we decided that the strike would begin on Monday.

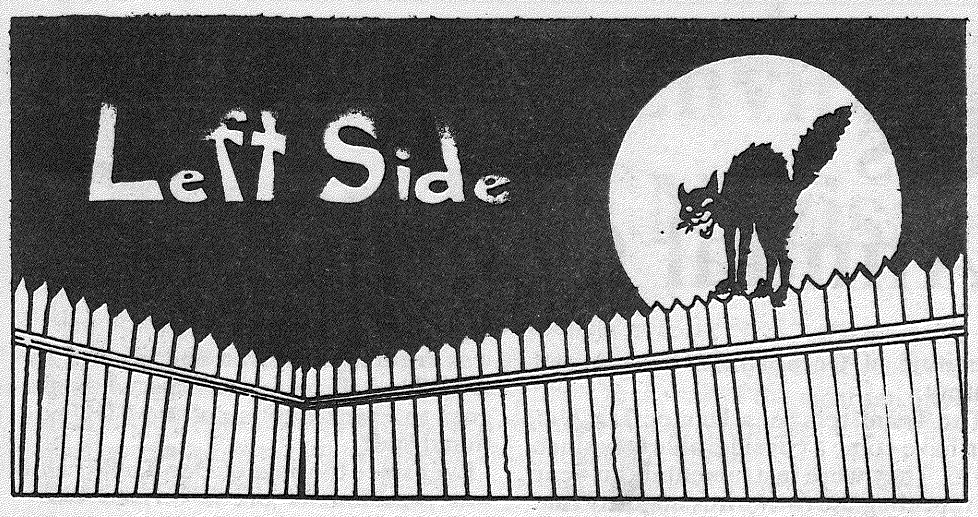
Monday (August 22), I arrive at the shop around 6:30 a.m. and started to organize the people. The guys have begun to assemble in the locker room. Finally, I realized that we couldn't stay there much longer because the foremen came in to get the men to go to work. Then the manager arrived. He asked me, "Who's in charge?". I told him that I was acting in the name of the strike committee which was taking over the shipyard, and that he should get out of the locker room. We took the banners and flags and went out to the front of the shop. I saw others, like us, leaving their shop (C5) and gathering in front. We were together, but we weren't very many.

"Stop Your Machine, Come With Us!"

Going over the bridge (part of the Lenin yards is on an island) some of the men looked at us as if we were crazy. Shortly, another group joined us, I don't know what shop, C3 or C4 I think. All of a sudden, the lack of organization dawned on us. Going over to the K1 plant, I saw that the people were at their posts. I hesitated for a moment, then I said to a worker, "stop your machine and come with me, there's a strike." He said he couldn't. Then a friend said to him that we could do it, but that he would have to tell us how. Then we stopped the machine and he came with us. And that's how K1 joined the strike.

Later on someone gave out false information, as if K1 began the strike. Upon returning over the bridge we met another group that included Szablewski (Alojzy Sablewski, leader of the strike committee in May). From there, we took control of the gates. Then, we set out to

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Now that the quadrennial orgy of political *BS* is safely behind us and the noble electorate have indicated their preference for a genuine redneck over a born-again redneck, it is comforting to know that pockets of sanity pop up in some of the most unexpected places. John Roscoe, an owner, no less, of a chain of a hundred Food-and-Liquor stores in northern California lays his own political message on his customers. When leaving one of his stores their purchases are carried in a shopping bag with the message "Don't Vote, It Only Encourages Them!"

The gentleman in question hasn't voted since 1964 when at the culmination of the Lyndon Barry Johnwater campaign he voted for the tall Texan who was the "peace" candidate. LBJ, as he was affectionately known, went on to do all the things that the electorate voted against Goldwater for. He further boasts that his son has a cleaner record than him since his son has never voted.

Your scribe wishes to boast the first time he saw this sage little message was during that same Johnwater campaign when some young Wobblies here in Chicago were operating Solidarity Bookshop and the match books that they gave their customers - besides proudly announcing the name Solidarity Bookshop - said on the flip side, "Don't Vote, It Only Encourages Them!" Your scribe, who has been of voting age for the last forty-five years also has a spotless record due to having lost his franchise during the World War II years and has never bothered to have it restored. Occasionally he is taken to task for not excercising his "right" to vote by well-meaning acquaintances to which he answers that not voting is the most eloquent vote he can think of.

It has finally been disclosed by Vatican officials that the famous Shroud of Turin is not really the cloth that covered the crucified body of Jesus since the latest scientific tests show that the linen was manufactured during the Middle Ages and the mysterious image was painted by some very clever artist who succeeded in pulling the Shroud over the eyes of millions of devout Christians for centuries.

The good Padres, making sure they stayed on the safe side never officially proclaimed the Shroud to be the actual burial cloth of Jesus but neither did they take any pains to discourage the belief that it was. Therefore now that the Shroud has been discovered as a clever forgery, the Vatican still encourages the Faithful to continue to venerate the object as a pictorial image of Jesus, still capable of performing miracles. In the Vatican they have Shrouds and in Freedomland they have elections.

However, in Los Angeles there are three Roman Catholic priests whose actions do much to atone for the shenanigans of their top bananas in the Big Vat. Despite obvious threats from the Immigration Department, they are spearheading a growing national resistance to Freedomland's immigration laws. Not only are they defying the law but also their archbishop who warns them that they should not be lawbreakers. The Immigration Department-inspired law does not permit the hiring of anyone who cannot provide proof of legal residency in Freedomland. These Padres are openly defying that law by aiding, abetting, and harboring undocumented workers and whenever the opportunity arises, finding employment for those *undocumenteds* who are looking for work.

Their answer to their tongue-clicking archbishop is would Jesus himself ask a worker for his green card before giving a job that could support a family. The local director of the Immigration Department is gently walking on eggs as these three Padres have a large following, and is sensible enough not to make martyrs of them through any strong-arm methods. He is also aware of the fact that there are 400 other congregations around Freedomland who have declared their intention to defy that law. Practicing Christians beat professed Christians any day.



By now your ears are being bombarded with Christmas carols whenever you go shopping so that when Christmas finally does come around you will breathe a sigh of relief that you won't have to listen to *Rudy the Red-Assed Reindeer* or *White Christmas* for another eleven months. Our modern day marketing culture has a talent for playing what would otherwise be a pleasant custom to death. Oddly enough, much of what is practiced as Christmas has little or nothing at all to do with the existence of the Prince of Peace. The date of the supposed birthday of Jesus was arbitrarily placed near the Winter Solstice to steal the steam from the competing Pagans who celebrated their Festival of Light at that time.

Many of the customs associated with the modern holiday have been borrowed from Pagan customs around the world. If one is to read the New Testament it would be obvious that it was not early Winter but sometime after the Harvest that Joseph and Mary came into Bethlehem.

Then there are those who stoutly maintain that a Jesus Christ never really existed as there is no historical record of his existence. They logically point out that the Romans kept meticulous records of all their executions, crucifixions or otherwise, and there is no record of a Jesus Christ being crucified. Of course one has only to speculate on the absence of any mention of Kropotkin, Bakunin or Makhno in Soviet official records.

Jewish historical records do mention a Jewish woman by the name of Mary who gave birth to a child out of wedlock by a Roman soldier and she named this child Jesus. Whether this was the same Jesus of biblical fame is worth speculating over; it was within that century that there spread resistance movement against the Roman Empire that eventually became co-opted into a respectable business venture. Not quite as respectable as the business man in northern California.

Your scribe just received another letter from the people campaigning for handgun control with an invitation to join forces with them and the customary bite for a contribution. They want to compete with the lobbying of the National Rifle Association, who have succesfully stifled any laws to ban such non-rifle implements as undetectable plastic handguns or Uzi machine guns. It was a plastic hand gun that passed by the metal detector that caused the crash of an airliner in California killing all on board and it was an Uzi that wiped out twenty one children and their parents at a MacDunghill's restaurant in the same Golden State.

Your scribe believes that the only way to control handguns or any other kind of guns is to stop making the damn things. He would sooner be accosted by a pea shooter-happy cop than a trigger-happy one. If workers had control over what they produced they could damn soon stop producing stuff that has no redeeming social use.

Don't Vote! It Only Encourages Them!

C. C. Redcloud

Workers' Democracy Works

While I've always supported freedom and democracy, I used to think that democratic leadership was less effective than leadership by single, strong individuals. In fact, there are times when individuals can take action and make decisions faster than a democratic group. But, in the long run, democratic leadership always pays off - partly by allowing all the individuals to have their say.

With this in mind, organizational psychologists have been raising productivity and profitability by putting democracy to work. For example, R. N. Ford[1] reduced turnover and increased of directory clerks at AT&T by giving them more personal freedom in their jobs. In a similar program, Paul, Robertson and Herzberg[2] improved the sales and profits of British salesmen (a control group was used to insure validity).

In studies which were possibly more relevent to government leaders, Preston and Heintz[3], Bovard[4], and Levine and Butler[5] found that groups led by people who favored democratic methods tended to have greater productivity, a friendlier atmosphere, and stronger cohesiveness. In other words, the benefits of democracy far outweighed the slightly faster decision-making of authoritarian leadership. This is a simple cost-benefit analysis, with no value judgements attached: democracy is more productive in the long run.

In a now-classic study, Ralph White and Ronald Lippitt[6] compared the effects of democratic, autocratic, and *laissez-faire* leadership on small groups. They found that autocracy can create hostility, aggression, scapegoating and withdrawal, and that autocracy reduces independence and individuality. They also found that *laissez-faire* leadership led to poorer work and lower output, and that most subjects preferred democratic leaders.

Armed with the knowledge that people prefer democratic leaders, and that these leaders are likely to increase productivity and lower negative attitudes, it follows that allowing people to elect their own leaders could have a positive effect on productivity. This applies to huge groups such as governments as well as smaller groups, for example, crews on assembly lines and at fast-food restaurants. It even applies to the military and, in fact, there are countries where officers are elected by their own troops.

The negative side of this research is that, if democracy and personal freedom is denied, productivity is lowered. In the Soviet Union, this has resulted not just in a societal stagnation, but in long lines for for most necessities and luxuries (many of which are considered to be necessities here).

On the business end, Argyris[7] noted that bureaucratic organizations which force employees to be passive, dependent, and subservient may prompt psychological and phisical withdrawal, and aggressive acts. For example, one researcher documented reactions of employees at the Ford Motor Company, long an example of highly-autocratic leadership. People there actively tried to sabotage the cars and machinery as much as possible, and turnover and lateness (physical withdrawal) were almost as much of a problem as complete apathy (psychological withdrawal). When Henry Ford originally offered the $5 an hour wage to a small number of selected employees, it was to keep turnover down; allowing a small amount of personal freedom and participation would not only have reduced turnover, obviating the need for a wage increase, but would most likely have increased productivity and the quality of the cars. Ford's authoritarian, non-democratic leadership style is, in fact, one of the reasons why the Mazda plant which produces the "Ford" Probe (Mazda RX-7) does not allow Ford managers to give orders while in the plant. The autocratic leadership of American auto companies in general is one of the reasons why the Japanese plants in the United States tend to have higher quality and productivity than the American ones - sometimes with the employees laid-off from American auto companies.

This is empirical, scientific evidence for the higher effectiveness of democracy. Systems of "charismatic leadership," "benevolent dictatorship," or even "laissez-faire" have been shown to be less productive and less effective in the long run. One non-scientific, but practical, demonstration of this is a comparison of the relatively democratic govern-

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THE SYSTEM IS DOWN

(Adapted from "The System be Damned" by Burnell Yow, sung to the tune of "Get Up and Go" by Pete Seeger.)

The bosses and banks say to all of the rest,
"Here's your new work station, gives us your best,
and we will pay you the prevailing low wage,
whatever your race, creed, sex pref'rence or age."

Chorus:
So the system is down, all the terminals dead,
and the printers are tearing the printouts to shreds.
It Breaks Mostly, that's why it's called IBM,
and Microsoft's melting, so please don't call them.

Yes the modern computer's the bosses real pride,
It's millions for them, but from workers he'll hide.
But just let him read his financial report,
and booted he'll be into bankruptcy court.

Chorus:
O the system is down, all the terminals dead,
and the printers are tearing the printouts to shreds.
They should call it Useless and not Unysis.
They layed off ten thousand for garbage like this!

O the system's back up, but it won't go nowhere,
so they promise you upgrades with words of hot air,
and while you wait for them you sit and you sit,
then the a-waited upgrade's as buggy as shit!
(Chorus: And the system is down, etc.)

Now the boss bought those lasers and scanners, for what?
To print fancy letters and bunk on the spot.
And that's why they can't raise the minimum wage,
'Cause the boss prints his garbage for Ten Grand a page!
(Chorus: O the system is down, etc.)

Now friends I'm not knocking good technology,
but what's it good for if it makes us less free?
Let's take it in our hands and make it run right,
and don't and don't let the boss touch it without a fight.
(Chorus: O the system is down, etc.)

O the system is down but the workers are back,
to put all our jobs on a civilized track.
And all of the power freaks with withdrawal pains
can go to the arcade and play combat games.
(Chorus: O the system is down, etc.)

And all the consultants, who made all the dough,
can go to the country a long beard to grow;
and dream about life in the next century
when every clone shall be replaced by a tree.
(Chorus: O the system is down, etc.)

Joseph Jablonski

Poland: Star is Dead

Continued from page 3

organize the strike better. We wanted to organize a press but at first we didn't have a mimeo or a typewriter, even. These were soon provided for.

A group from the KPN (Confederation for an Independent Poland) came by. There were three of them, the woman spoke. When the comrades learned that they wanted to support us, they were pleased. Our leaders were very critical, but what could they do?

I was on the strike committee. Many things, not to our credit, went on therein; no sooner had they obtained some responsibilities then they started to argue amongst themselves. At the gates, the atmosphere was fantastic; the people believed that they could fight to the end, for everything.

The sad part is, after about six days, one had to admit it wasn't true. Walesa left for Warsaw for a meeting with Kiszczak (the Minister-General of the Interior). We gave him our confidence, we gave him our mandate to defend our main demand: re-legalization of Solidarnosc. But he had no other mandate, he had no right to make any other decisions. Now, Walesa went to Warsaw and made the decision to call off the strikes, that was the basis of the telex he sent, to interrupt the movement.

"Walesa Traitor!"

When I learned of this, I was furious. I loved that man more than any other; but it is terrible how he's changed. As for the MKS (Miedzyzaklowdy Komitet Strajkowy -- inter-enterprise strike committee), there was talk of ending the strike, I rebelled. Nobody asked us, there was never a vote. Finally there was a vote to decide if a state of strike preparedness should be maintained. There were 15 votes for, 12 votes against, and 10 abstentions. But, some way was found to count the abstentions with the no votes, and that is how the decision was made. I declared that I would not transmit this decision to the ranks. Then Lech went wild, he yelled at me, "you're full of shit."

I went back to see the guys. They didn't want to leave the shipyards. It was said -- I am not good at using certain language -- that our cause was sold out for an unknown price, because we trusted him too much. Me, I could not accept it, I could not forgive. In my view, those who said "Walesa Traitor!" were right. It's hard, but now I know that that is nothing new for a union that concerns itself with nothing more than beefsteak. That kind of union is not for me. It doesn't fight for the simple worker.

Words recorded by the anarchist group (MA) of Gdansk



Printed on the back of every British Labour Party membership card is Clause 4 of the party's constitution, and it is the historic bedrock upon which the Labour Party's claim to be Socialist is based. It reads, "to secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service." It is this clause that has always stuck in the craw of the British middle class with or within voting distance of Britain's Labour Party. At private parties and party conferences the wine-sipping weekend socialists have sought to get the ideal of worker-controlled public ownership of the end products of their own labour syphoned down the drain of history with the dregs of their empty wine bottles. They look to China and to Russia, with those States' hesitant steps back to managerial privately-owned capitalism, and they see their new dawn in mass middle-class votes for a middleclass Labour Party and their message is Ma Thatcher plus Reagan-styled American capitalism equals the right to wear the hollow crown in the name of our alleged classless society and a public rejection of any claim to public ownership. Neil Kinnock with his hit men John Smith and Bryan Gould are ready to organise and push through the "great betrayal" in return for the clown's costumes and mockery of an opposition right wing who, as history has demonstrated, controls them by trapping them into the illusion of power. So be it and we can but wait to see what the grass roots will act out.

Clive Jenkins, the sickly-smiling Welsh trade union boss of the 653,000 Science and Finance white collar craft union has decided to retire and bask in the sun of Tasmania with a union Golden Handshake of a quarter of a million dollars and this from a union that is nearly four million dollars in debt; but as happy smiling Clive might say, gazing at his sun-tanned tootsies, "I did it all for the workers." What is of interest in the matter of the departure of smiling ol' Clive is that the sole charge of the Science and Finance union will be handed to Ken Gill who, it is held, is a hard line communist. Gill was expelled from the British Communist Party this year when that Byzantine world of politics and middle-class Euro-Communists won official control of the party and expelled the alleged 'Stalinist' faction who waltzed off with the printing press and cries that they and they alone were the true voice of the revolutionary proletariat.

Britain's Euro-Communists and Neil Kinnock's advisers see their grubby grasp for power by the rejection of any socialist or communist ideology and we comrades, who they deem to be unworthy either as the hammer or the anvil of their wine-tasting revolution, are indifferent. Here within these cold little green islands of Britain we have our parochial tragedies that are universal in their interpretation, yea unto love and unto death. In the shadows of the white cliffs of Dover the sea men and women of the ferry service still continue their forgotten strike for it is no longer deemed by the media politically newsworthy and a few brief lines on stencilled paper cries their appeal for tinned food to help them in their isolation.

Within London, workers are striking in protest at the savage social cuts by the Labour Council that they elected for it is an elected council that has finally learned the harsh lesson. Having enjoyed playing funny games in elected office and with piles of blank cheques which meant playing Broadway Angels to any crazy scheme that offered them the credit for the cash they now find that Ma Thatcher has (non-biologically) got them by the goolies and demands that they either balance their budget or find the Council-spent money out of their own pockets or purses.

It was left for Bradford to make the national front page press when a split Council of Labour and Tory gave the casting vote to the Tory Lord Mayor and in one night of screaming delight for the Bradford Tory the Lord Mayor tossed in his casting vote for cuts in the social service so savage that Ma Thatcher should have been howling with delight on Hallowe'en Night. Bradford is that type of industrial town that Trollope, Dickens or Engels would have wept to write about and in the crowded public galleries the people of Bradford roared their rage to a grinning Tory Council Party as social service was slashed with all its attendant human misery and in that disgusting political circus one wonders why one man, the Mayor of Bradford, should have taken personal responsibility for the human misery that these political actions will now cause. We sit in the White Hart pub and I brood and say tell me Pete, tell me...

Arthur Moyse



Workers' Democracy Works

Continued from page 1

ment of the United States with the Soviet Union. The central control and "party leadership" of Soviet and similar systems just can't compete with even "representative" democracy when it comes to production - and we're not going to mention the moral or ethical factors.

With all these benefits, why does democracy seem to be so unpopular - to the point where even Americans don't vote directly for a President? Maybe the reason is that, when people come into power, they don't want to give it up - no matter what the benefits are. In any case, it's apparent that democracy is good for everyone.

Dave Zatz

Wobblies: Still at the Heart of Worker Education

In December 1988, staff and student representatives of the University and College Labor Education Association's (UCLEA) Northeast Regional Summer School for Union Women will be meeting in New York City to plan their 1989 school--Wobblies, naturally, amongst them. This event will mark the 14th year that union and university women in the northeast region of the US have sat down together to plan a residential school for union women.

The UCLEA schools, once limited to the northeast region, have expanded and are now conducted in the midwest, west, and southern districts. They are all rooted in the early traditions of *worker* education, which endeavors to build education programs around the needs and interests of unionists and other working people.



Participants at the 1988 UCLEA Summer School for Union Women, University of Connecticut (Storrs, Conn). Wobblies Ida Torres (second row, fifth from left) and Rochelle Semel (third row, sixth from left) were instuctors at the school.

The IWW's "Work People's College," considered to be the oldest residential labor college in the US, organized by a group of Finnish Wobblies, is part of this tradition. Work People's College opened its doors in 1908 in Duluth, Minnesota to a group of 60 worker students with a curriculum that included the usual social subjects but with a policy that stemmed directly from industrial unionism.

By 1925, Margaret T. Hodgen was writing in *Worker Education in England and the US:*

> Until recently the educational activity organized by left wing groups such as the IWW were ephemeral in character. Treasuries were the momentary accumulation of strike funds; headquarters the work of energetic secretaries. These offices during industrial strife became the centers of propoganda. Between strikes they served as rest homes for migratory laborers to discuss social and economic matters, earning the title of "spitoon philosophers". . .formal instruction under such circumstances was confined to lectures before small groups of actual and potential converts and to newspaper articles on the current interpretation of Marxian theory.
>
> . . .Within the last year or two, however, an interesting development has taken place. Instead of emphasizing the revolutionary side of the movement, the *IWW has prepared to teach the workers how to run as well as how to seize industry*. In 1920, $2000 was appropriated to establish a Bureau of Industrial Research. Engineers were engaged to make surveys of industries. A year later (1921) a resolution called for a ceaseless campaign of education among the workers in order to accomplish the transition from capitalism to a new society with as little social friction as possible, and the Work People's College of Duluth was taken over as part of a new educational program.

Beyond "education for enlightenment," that is, to invest working people with an appreciation for all that human beings have accomplished and created (or destroyed), and technical information to prepare them for the increasing complexity of a technologically bound society, to IWW members and organizers there were broader and more compelling underlying purposes of workers' education.

There is our desire for a better, more equitable social order and a working class ready and able "to carry on production when capitalism shall be overthrown."

The worker education tradition in the IWW continues on in the present day in innumerable local IWW study circles, discussion forums, and organizing conferences.

Political parties have also organized schools for workers to educate--but primarily to indoctrinate--such as the Communist Party's "Worker's School," the Socialist Party's "Debs School," the Social Democratic Federation's "Rand School." But the most successful early school for workers was the Brookwood School, organized by leftwing educators and unionists which in 15 years trained some 500 worker/unionists, many of whom went on to join union staffs as organizers, or to organize new unions, before Brookwood was discontinued in 1937.

The current UCLEA summer school, on the other hand, is based on a different model--education tailored to the needs, problems, and intersts of working women. It follows the design and structure of the Bryn Mawr Summer Schools for Women Workers, the first of which opened in 1921.

In 1920, Carey Thomas, then president of Bryn Mawr College, a very elite school for women, went to Europe where she observed that English Universities had enrolled working people in their schools during the summer months. She saw factory workers and miners studying in buildings that would otherwise be empty. She reflected that every summer there were empty college buildings all over the US that could be used for workers' schools.

Carey Thomas came out of a generation of women who had fought for the vote, and she thought now that if the current generation of women were given opportunities for knowledge and skills, perhaps *they* would fight for justice at the workplace and for peace in the world.

She thought--there is deep sympathy that women feel for each other. There is a bond between them that comes from their struggle for survival, from caring for others, from child rearing. It comes from having to clean under stoves, from their vitality, their endurance, their solitude, their joyousness, their ability to bond together and to bind others together.

So when she returned to Bryn Mawr, Carey Thomas had a plan. She sought out the few active women unionists that existed at that time and brought them together with her staff to hammer out a summer school for women workers. What should be taught? Who should come? How would the school be funded? Who would teach in it? How would it be run? These were some of the questions. This joint planning between university and union women is a tradition that is continued today in UCLEA schools.

In June, 1921 the Bryn Mawr School for Women Workers began with 98 women. The women represented 25 different industries and trades, among them the N.Y. garment workers, Philadelphia hat makers, and New England textile workers.

The UCLEA schools are rooted in the early traditions of worker education, which endeavors to build education programs around the needs and interests of unionists and other working people.

They came to the school exhausted and malnourished from overwork and poverty, from sweatshop and factory conditions. Most had a sense of guilt that they had been chosen to study in such a beautiful place and had left so many fellow workers behind. Before they could study they had to be fed well and restored to health. But study they did--a full humanities curriculum, combined with labor education, physical exercise, and recreation.

In summing up the school, one fellow worker said, "Here I have found a place for myself. Here I feel I am not just a piece of machinery."

The Bryn Mawr School reached some 1700 blue collar women from various industries and regions who worked in both union and non-union settings. It also inspired many schools that were to follow, schools in other regions of the country; schools such as the one for clerical workers to reach special sectors. But it ran out of funding during the depression, and like Brookwood, it fell prey to the inevitable redbaiting.

The traditions of the Bryn Mawr Schools have been revived in many ways in the current UCLEA schools. But the general availability of a liberal arts curriculum in the US has permitted the UCLEA schools to concentrate on *labor education*.

The UCLEA schools were created in the early 1970s by a group of university labor educators serving on a "task force on programs for union women" within that Association. Inspired by Barbara Wertheimer, an educator and labor historian with both union and university experience, the schools were organized to: foster a spirit of mutual support and solidarity among union women; provide training and information on labor and working women's issues; give more visibility to women in their unions; and bring together university and union women.

The emphasis on labor education is such that women unionists take away with them skills and information which later activates them both at the workplace and the union. A 1988 workshop choice list includes: basic and advance grievance handling; organizing and mobilizing the membership; unionizing professionals; collective bargaining; public speaking; negotiating for family and parental care; and legal rights for working women.

But workshops are only a small portion of the weeklong residential school. Women gather together for group discussion on workers' issues (e.g., the plight for undocumented workers; racism in the workplace and in the union; the rise of multinationals); labor history programs and plays; to produce a school newspaper which teaches them labor journalism skills; write a radio script that is aired on a community station; and participate in labor affairs of the area in which the school takes place. For instance, at one school, students joined maintenance persons on a picket line that snaked through the executives' offices at the university.

Women unionists not only study together during the weeklong school, they also eat together in the school's cafeteria and share dormitory space. The result of bringing together unionists from different industries and cities is that information and workplace strategies

Wobblies: Still at Worker Education

are shared in evening rap sessions and informal gatherings.

The schools also structure some opportunities for strategy sharing by holding meetings by states, unions and sectors. But over-all the philosophy of the schools is to bring workers and unionists *together* to share their commonalities as a class, rather than to split them apart into special interst groups. In any case, those who share commonalities will find each other on their own and discuss problems and prospects in informal rap sessions.

The school is co-ordinated by an elected university woman and a union woman. The university woman coordinates a labor studies program fulltime at the campus at which the school is taking place and can take care of the logistics--providing rooms, meals, child care facilities for the school. The two women are also responsible for pulling together the weeklong program which evolves at a series of pre-school planning meetings and for troubleshooting and guiding the school during the week. Their responsibilities are shared by the entire staff who are assigned duties at the planning meetings--e.g., pulling together the workshops, contacting instructors, planning the labor history program, corrdinating special issues sessions. Thus the program responsibilities of the coordinators are mostly in the follow-up area--checking periodically before the school begins to make sure that the program is together.

Students at the school elect their own "government," a student grievance committee that handles day-to-day problems, plans the graduation program, and in general sees to it that the school meets the needs of women unionists. Students also design all the recreational activity at the school, oversee field trips, and plan special events as alternative activities for the small amount of free time. Many students return to future schools as members of the instructional staff, since one of the purposes of the school is to pass on education--with those who have learned union skills teaching other workers.

The teaching itself is student centered--not instructor centered--one of the key differences between worker education and other forms of education. Teacher training sessions guide instructors in discussion techiques so that unionists can learn from each other. An experienced steward can impart a lot of information to a class.

The emphasis on labor education is such that women unionists take away with them skills and information which later activates them both at the workplace and the union.

An organizing instructor might evolve the following list *from the class* rather than from her own notes or observations:

1. Be visible.
2. Be active.
3. Make things happen.
4. Be a resource.
5. Get everyone involved.
6. Share tasks.
7. Give everyone a chance to "be up front."



The UCLEA schools, unlike those of the 1920s and 1930s, are not dependent on outside funding to exist, on the premise that they who giveth can also taketh away. School planners (student and staff represenatives) determine the financial needs of the school and come up with a budget and a per person fee for attendance. Scholarship funds provide for those who need financial assistance to come. The instructors in the northeast schools do not wish to be paid. For them it is a labor of love--so much so--that *they pay to attend*. And even with the 30-35 instructors that teach at each school, there is a waiting list of would-be instructors.

The schools' popularity has grown to the point that a registration cutoff point has to be established for each school--not so much for educational needs but simply because of fire law rules and the limits of college dorm and classroom space. Unions that in the last decade viewed the schools with suspicion are now sending and paying the way of the women members to attend. In 1987, 80 percent of the student body was supported in whole or in part by union locals' scholarships. In a typical year 150 women unionists arrive at the school... from unions that understand that only an educated membership can help a union grow and fulfill its purposes.

The planning for the 1989 UCLEA Summer School for Union Women will take place at the metropolitan district of Cornell University's School of Industrial and Labor Relations in New York City. Attending on behalf of the IWW are Esta Cristol (Philadelphia, PA), Rochelle Semel (upstate New York) and Ida Torres (downstate New York).

Rochelle Semel

Give to the
INDUSTRIAL WORKER
Sustaining Fund

Record Review: "Welcome to my job!"

An Evening of Rebel Voices

REBEL VOICES: Songs of the Industrial Workers of the World Performed by the Members of Entertainment Workers (IU 630). *Utah Phillips, Faith Petric, Fred Holstein, Bruce Brackney, Marion Wade, Bob Bovee, Jeff Cahill, Kathy Taylor, J. B. Freeman, Robin Oye, Eric Glatz and Mark Ross.* Flying Fish Records (*available from the IWW*) $8.95 plus postage.

After an agonizingly lengthy gestation period this long-awaited disk of the IWW's venerable treasure trove of labor anthems has at last seen the light of day. On the evenings of August 31 and September 1 (during the IWW's 1984 General Convention weekend) various members of the Entertainment Workers Union #630 of the IWW from around the continent gathered to present a concert of classic Wobbly and other labor songs. The locale was *Holstein's*, a bar and theatre that featured folk music. On these two evenings those patrons in attendance were regaled by a variety of singers performing the gamut of class-conscious song repetoire.

As the dozen above-mentioned singers took turns at belting out not only the old Wobbly standards but some recently composed ditties as well, they were greeted with an enthusiastic response on the part of the audience. These songs were composed with the intent of stirring militant fervor within the breasts of the listeners and while the Revolution did not immediately take place after those two concert nights, the audience had seldom been regaled with such inspiring performances.

The record opens up with a recitation of the IWW Preamble by Utah Phillips, our well-known and beloved Bard whose fame has transcended the tightly-knit circle of Wobblydom. Jeff Cahill sang a ditty called *The Organizer* in which he is accompanied by some mean guitar pickin' by our man in Montana, Mark Ross, who also accompanied Jeff with his banjo in *The Preacher & The Slave*. The indomitable Faith Petric sang *Little Red Hen* and *Ain't Done Nothin' If You Ain't Been Called A Red* which elicited an enthusiastic response from the audience.

Bob Bovee did a rousing come-all-yez rendition of *Which Side Are You On?* and in the last verse updates the lyrics with mention of One Big Union Grand. . .and in *Halleluja, I'm a Bum* some verses have been added in which such contemporary phenomena as overtime and speed-ups further contribute towards putting many workers on the bum. *Halleluja, I'm A Bum* has been credited as being composed by Haywire Mac McClintock, but it is known that Joe Hill and and succeeding Wobbly bards have added the more biting verses so it is only in keeping with a standing Wobbly tradition that Bob added these last stanzas.

Put It In The Ground (and Make the Flowers Grow!) was sung without accompaniment by Marion Wade, and tells all the bosses and promoters of free enterprise what they can do with all their fancy talk. The two stirring anthems, *We Have Fed You All A Thousand Years* and *Hold The Fort* were belted out by Bruce Brackney with his twelve-string guitar. Our Michigan Wob Eric Glatz did *The Popular Wobbly* with some lively Big Bill Broonzy-style guitar picking. *The Banks Of Marble* was rendered by the voice of Chicago's own Fred Holstein accompanying himself on the twelve-string. He also does Joe Hill's *Stung Right* which alludes to more soldiers dying from eating Armour's Pork and Beans than being killed on the battlefield during the Spanish-American War.

Former IWW General Secretary-Treasurer (and member of the Dehorn Crew singing group) Kathy Taylor did her own vocal version of Joe Hill's *Last Will* accompanied only by the flute of Robin Oye. Mark Ross (who helped out on the accompaniment of a number of other singers) sings *Song Of The Rail* with his guitar and *Mysteries Of A Hobo's Life* with the banjo, in which he acquits himself most competently on both instruments.

Utah Phillips recites the poem *Two Bums* in which he says if we could get rid of the bum on the plush, there would no longer have to be any bums on the rods. He sings *Praise The Boss From Whom All Blessings Flow* in mock hymnal style and with Mark Ross playing the banjo and assisting in the choruses does Joe Hill's well-known *Mr. Block*.

The record ends with an emotionally moving rendition of *There Is Power In The Union* by the entire group of singers with the audience joining in the choruses as they have been doing in numerous selections on this record. This is indeed a record to tweak the heart-strings of the old timers and to rouse the pulse of the whippersnappers.

Get 'em while they last!

Alfredo Nuberoja

A New Kind of Movement

A New Form of Organization

Throughout the United States and around the world, a new type of labor movement is beginning to tale shape. Although still in its infancy, the rank and file movement has certain distinctive features. It tends to take up the issue of the humanization of work. It organizes itself horizontally. It strives toward democratic ideals. These values drive it into conflict with the bureaucracy of business unions, with the employers, and with the government.

As we have seen, this movement takes various forms:

-Teamsters for a Democratic Union unites together members of one union for rank and file democracy and for opposition to the employer.

-The P-9 campaign showed how one local in one city could mobilize solidarity among many unions from across the country.

- New Directions is a movement of one region of the UAW reaching out to other regions.

- The Watsonville cannery strike was based on Latino workers in one union, who mobilized their community.

- The New York Chinese restaurant workers had to form a new union because the old unions were unresponsive.

In the era of the multinational corporation, it is not surprising that the trend toward horizontal unionism has begun to cross international boundaries. Rank and file auto workers from different countries have been meeting for years without the assistance of international unions. Recently union activists from Mexico and the United States met in Tijuana to discuss the impact of the Simpson-Rodino law on their unions and their peoples.

Over ten years ago, longshoremen of eleven European nations formed the Congress movement, with members from each nation refusing to work the ships struck by others. The network idea is now being tried by seamen in some of the same countries. So far, no Canadian or American seamen are participating, and no official U.S. labor publication has ever published information on the Congress movement.

Similar types of horizontal formations are COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) in South Africa; the *May First Movement* in the Philippines; and *Coordinadora* in Spain.

The most well-known example of horizontal unionism is Polish Solidarity, where workers created a nationwide network linking hundreds of separate workplaces based on strong support from local communities. The network knocked out the existing structure of bureaucratic unions in a matter of weeks.

The Role of a Support Group

We believe there is a need for the information of a national support group to assist rank and file efforts in building the new, horizontal unionism. The first question we must address is why not merge our support efforts with one of the existing labor groups, since there are several organizations attempting to provide an alternative approach to the policies of labor officials. These groups include Trade Union Action and Democracy (TUAD) and National Rank and File Against Concessions (NRFAC).

We believe that these groups work from a starting point different from ours. First, most do not reject the fundamental ideas of labor officialdom--business unionism and the vertical organization of labor. In fact, the two groups mentioned have not attempted to support a horizontal union movement. They see their role as putting pressure on the officials, supporting a particular group of "progressive" officials, or running slates of "progressive" candidates for office. Second, the existing groups have tended to reproduce the vertical structure of business unions. They are built around a national center, which attempts to control information and relations among affiliates.

We support the existence of different political currents within the labor movement and uphold the right of workers to join such groups, including those mentioned. We believe that organizations mentioned do positive work through support of union reform movements, along with strike support and boycott activities. We have worked with them in the past and hope to do so in the future.

However, it is not our primary goal to pressure the labor bureaucracy, to support "progressive" officials, nor to have ourselves elected to union office. Rather, our primary goal is to assist the rank and file in their efforts to build a union movement which will restructure labor organizations, imbue them with a new humanistic philosophy, and turn them into activist organizations both in the workplace and in the larger society.

Our Tasks

There is a need for the formation of a nationwide support group to provide assistance to working people in their efforts to set up solidarity networks of all kinds. In this regard, we believe that the primary task of the support group should be to *facilitate* rank and file activity and initiative, not *substitute* itself for it. Toward this end, the group should assist the movement that is already occurring by:

1) Providing people with new contacts locally, nationally, and internationally.
2) Creating forums for discussion of ideas generated by the networks.
3) Making available the history of rank and file struggles that are forerunners of the current movement. This history should assist the creation of horizontal, rather than vertical, unionism; and help explain the development of bureaucratism in the labor movement.
4) Explaining the nature of no-strike and arbitration clauses that dominate more than 90 percent of all labor contracts as well as the importance of retrieving the right to strike during the term of a contract.
5) Putting forth union ideas that begin to bring union control back into the workplace.
6) Publicizing attempts at international networks in which American workers participate.
7) Exposing the strategic weaknesses of multi-nationals. They operate within slim margins for error in communications and transport of product, meaning they must establish and maintain tight control over their entire operations. Any time control of the union in any one of their workplaces is taken from the labor bureaucracy and moved onto the job, these international giants experience crisis. The formation of solidarity networks to protect local unions rewon by the rank and file is the primary condition for a counter-offensive by labor. To bring union control back onto the job is not simply a basic tenet of union democracy, but the best defense against attacks by multi-national employers.
8) Explaining how the structure of local unions was designed to make it easy to control them from above and far away. The chairperson of the shop committee or shop stewards committee is the elected officer who has the natural power of the rank and file. He or she resides in office at the place where production is performed. But the vast majority of local union structures deny full authority to this office and the stewards and members that it directly represents. Instead, an additional office is created which calls upon its holder to govern the local from outside the workplace.

In the overwhelming majority of unions, local presidents preside in offices or union halls across the street or down the road from where rank and filers spend most of their waking hours. They are the officers who are first of all in direct communication with the international offices. Local presidents are the official and legal links between the international officers and the memberships.

In the local unions that experienced revolts in the 60s, it was most often the heads of the shop or office union committees who stuck with the ranks, and the presidents were the ones who most often caved in to pressure from the internationals. It becomes the task of this new time to support efforts to end this artificially split structure in official local union government.

9) To be alert to the possibility of common support actions between organizations of rank and file workers, of professional workers and intellectuals who are finding they are forced to fight to improve the conditions of life on this planet and need the kinds of alliances that can be sustained without a loss of autonomy.

In "Ideology and Popular Protest", social historian and author George Rude presents the idea that when efforts at accelerated social progress in modern times have been successful, they have been accomplished by alliances between radicalized workers and radicalized intellectuals.

This alliance did, in fact, occur in the French and American revolutions and accompanied or was a forerunner of some of the most heartening developments in the early 1930s--which in turn opened the way to the information of industrial unions in the U.S. The growth and main life of this most recent alliance was cut short by the outbreak of world scale war. Since that time the only major avenue available for involvement of intellectuals with labor has been through its union bureaucracies, and so the opportunities for unfettered get-togethers have been rare.

The re-appearance of rank and file worker networks and groupings once again creates opportunies for alliances to occur without top labor bureaucrats imposing their ideology or fear of new ideas.

In short, we believe that the networking now going on raises major responsibilities for labor activists. First, instead of the ineffective, legalistic tactics favored by most union officials, the new networks must retrieve such traditional solidarity tactics as the mass picketline, the secondary boycott, and the "flying squadron" in order to counter the employers' increasing use of strikebreakers backed up the police and National Guard. Most importantly, they must retrieve the right to strike--not only at the end of contract--but during the life of a contract. Second, in order for the new networks must emphasize the authority at the level of the workplace--at the level of the shop floor committee, not the level of outside officers.

Aside from the primary tasks listed above, we believe that a nationwide support group has other responsibilities:

1) Supporting the struggles for equality and full democratic fights for radical and other minorities.
2) Supporting the fight for equality for women.
3) Supporting the efforts of union activists to eliminate elitism and aristocratism among unions and to oppose divisions based on different trades and professions.
4) Supporting the campaign for democratic reform movements within unions, including the demands for popular election of all officers, reasonable officer salaries, and reduction of dues and initiation fees.
5) Supporting efforts to improve working conditions, including the demand for a six hour day.
6) Supporting the growth of social unionism, including the campaign against illiteracy, inadequate health care, and social service and education cutbacks, as well as providing assistance to the homeless.

--from a paper prepared by the
LA Labor Networking Committee
(c/o Stan Weir, Box 1906,
San Pedro CA 90733)

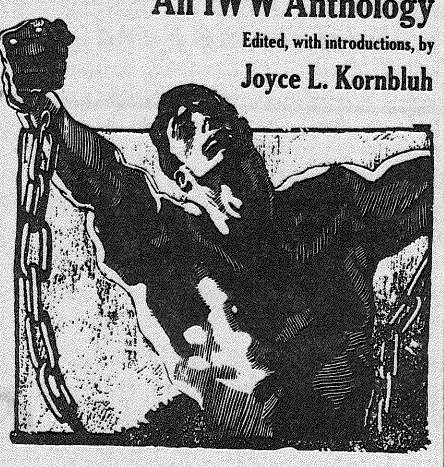
In the era of the multinational corporation, it is not surprising that the trend toward horizontal unionism has begun to cross international boundaries.

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An IWW Anthology

Edited, with introductions, by

Joyce L. Kornbluh



Culled from Wobbly periodicals from the movement's founding convention in 1905 to the present, Rebel Voices presents pamphlets, stories, songs, poems, cartoons and illustrations that bring the story of the "minutemen of industrial unionism" to life in native accents. The IWW made lasting contributions to our language, folk music and literature.- Detroit Labor News

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FROM THE ARCHIVES

from the OBU Monthly
March 1938

Rank-and-File Unionism

What It Is and What It Isn't

by Fred Thompson

We working people want to raise our wages, cut our hours, make our jobs safer and less injurious to our health and less unpleasant places in which to earn our living. If we realize what an injury the capitalist system does to us, we want also to get rid of it. We cannot do these things by ourselves. We can do them together. That's why we form unions. Our unions are labor unions only when they do what we want them to do. A body of workers is not a union unless it is controlled by its members. That is reason No. 1 why the IWW insists upon "rank-and-file" organization.

This phrase "rank-and-file" has come to be used in such strange ways of late that it has picked up some strange meanings. For that reason it is time that the IWW, as the foremost exponent and practitioner of rank-and-file unionism, explained just what rank-and-file means, and what it doesn't mean.

The strange uses of the expression "rank-and-file" to which we refer are made most often by the communists and other addicts of the "leadership principle." Now the "leadership principle," - the idea that we should pick and follow leaders, and seek a cure for our troubles by changing leaders - is the direct opposite of the rank-and-file idea. It is indeed curious that those who advocate this "der Fuerhrer" plan of organization should ever demand "rank-and-file control." How does it happen?

The object of these various political cults of "follow the leader" is to obtain more followers for their various leaders. (And since every time there is a new leader there are new cults, this results in a rather bewildering situation). Since their purpose is not to organize a working class to do something for itself, but to make sure that the leaders of one cult are followed rather than the leaders of another, they seek their following chiefly in already organized groups of workers. Sometimes they try to secure such a following by currying favor with the officials of these unions. That was and is the pet policy of the Socialists. The Communist sects vary this policy with that of "boring from within" to grab the official positions.

When a group of self-appointed saviours try to grab the official positions in a union, they must resort to the favorite tricks of the unsuccessful politician - the one who is out of office. They must charge the elected officials with "betraying their mandates," "not living up to their promises," "ignoring the wishes of the rank-and-file." They must promise that if they are elected, the "rank-and-file" will rule through them. As a result we have the strange spectacle of "rank-and-file" committees waiting instructions from some leader before they can decide upon their next step!

To get into the saddle, these would-be leaders must convince their potential victims that they are now being ridden, but that with them in the saddle, they will no longer be ridden. It will not serve their purpose to urge that those who are being ridden should get rid of the rider, saddle and all. They must urge that only the riders be changed. Their consequent political manipulations in the unions leave the impression that "rank-and-file" means disruption, misrepresentation, henpecking of the officialdom - anything and everything except the use of a union by its own members to give effect to their own wishes.

In the IWW

In the IWW control by the rank-and-file is implicit in our constitution, our structure, our financial arrangements, and our traditional procedure. Yet we have no rank-and-file committees, and rarely do we see any member in our ranks appealing to, or even mentioning, the rank-and-file. Just as the best evedence of a good liver is the lack of any occasion to take note of it, so is the best evidence of rank-and-file control the absence of any mention of it. We find use for the term chiefly in describing the inadequacies of other unions.

How is such complete rank-and-file control accomplished?

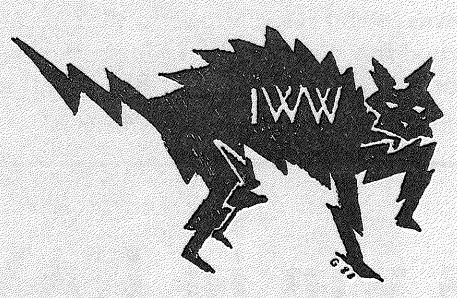
In the first place, there is no division of our ranks into officialdom and rank-and-file. There is no officialdom. We have officers, some voluntary, and some on payroll, some devoting full time to the work of the IWW, some devoting only their spare time after regular working hours. None of them are officers for many years. The various terms of office vary from three months to a year, and in no case can a member serve more than three successive terms. Thus our members are elected into and out of office. If they stayed in office for life, as they do in many unions, they would no doubt be sobered by the responsibities of office, and subordinate their revolutionary urge to the necessity of balancing a budget." But they don't stay, and during this term of office, they look at the problems of organization in much the same way that the rest of the members do. Conversely, so many of our members who are not holding an official position at any one time, have held such positions, that the viewpoint of of these members is based largely upon a realization of the problems that confront the officers of a union. Thus there is a natural harmony and uniformity of views throughout the IWW.

The powers of these IWW officers are very limited. They cannot call strikes, nor can they stop them. Consequently they cannot "sell out." If they are on pay, they have no votes in any membership meeting; and no official, whether on pay or not, has a vote in the Industrial Union or General Conventions. This is in marked contrast to the practice of most other unions. Their work is set out for them by the various conventions or other deliberative bodies of the membership; and should any unforseen circumstance develop requiring any abrupt change of plan or policy, a referendum must be taken on it. At any time they can be recalled by referendum.

Not a Federation

The structure of the IWW provides for the utmost cohesiveness with the utmost freedom or autonomy of its component parts to attend to local or specific problems as the definite circumstances may require. It is not a federation of industrial unions, but a One Big Union of the working class. All its members are directly members of the IWW. They meet as members of industrial unions, according to the sort of work they do; and there is a free automatic transfer from one industrial union to another. A good portion of the work of the IWW is accomplished by general membership meetings, District Conferences of all members in a district, Industrial District Councils, and other structures that bring members of various industrial unions together. All this results in cohesiveness and solidarity without the imposition of a powerful central authority.

Consequently there is no sacrifice of cohesiveness in preserving a usual degree of autonomy for the component parts of the IWW. Job branches decide their own policies for organizing on the job or for keeping it organized, or for improving it. Industrial Union branches



decide their local organization policies, elect their own officers, decide upon their own ways and means. Industrial Unions do likewise. These bodies are limited only by this: all must act in comformity with the General Constitution and the by-laws of their Industrial Unions, and the decisions of their conventions.

The financial arrangements of the IWW are a further guarantee of rank-and-file control. Control over a union's treasury often means control over the union. Industrial Union branches have their treasuries; Industrial Unions have theirs; the General Organization has its own. Of the dues collected from the members a portion set by by-laws of each industrial union stays in the local Industrial Union branch, another portion goes to the Main Office of the Industrial Union. From this a certain portion set by the constitution goes to the General Office, and the rest remains as an organizing fund to be expended by the General Organization Committee of that Industrial Union. If strikes or organizing campaigns break a union treasury, the General Office may be called upon for assistance, or the other Industrial Unions may be asked - but they may not be compelled to contribute their funds. In such emergencies the IWW finds that its treasury is still "in the workers' pockets." And the closer this treasury is to the workers' pockets, the more considerate must union officials be of the wishes of these custodians of the treasury.

* * *

But the most effective guarantee of rank-and-file rule in the IWW is not in its constitution, structure, or financial arrangements, but in the viewpoints that have become traditional in our ranks. The IWW members look upon rank-and-file not merely as a means for making sure that the union is run according to their wishes, but even more as a means for getting things done. The diffusion of responsibilty in a rank-and-file organization begets initiative and releases energy. Even more important in getting results, it has things done by those who know what they want done, what obstacles are in the road of doing them, and consequently how they must be done. It may be possible to steer a boat on the open sea by remote control, but it won't work for riding a log downstream.

It is rank-and-file control that has enabled the IWW with relatively so few members to accomplish such great results as it has in American industry. It is rank-and-file control that has kept it from being steered up blind alleys by the various fads and foibles that have beset the alleged intelligentzia of the labor movement. It is rank-and-file control that has so developed organizational capacity throughout the ranks of our organization, that not only have most of our members proven competent organizers, but that somehow our ex-members have furnished a good part of the organizing force for other unions. It is this same development of individual capacity that has made the IWW indestructible in the face of the most ruthless efforts to extirpate it; and it is to this development of individual capacity, and to the organized self-reliance that is back of it, that the IWW looks as assurance that it can fend for itself no matter what despotism, and state intervention in unionism may grow out of "der Feurhrer principle."

It is little wonder that the IWW places great emphasis on this idea of rank-and-file, looks for it in the unions that lack it, completely rejects the leader idea that would leave no room for it, and wishes the genuine article "rank-and-file rule" not to be confused with the ludicrous imitations that have been offered by the much-to-be-watched, self-appointed saviours of the working class. □

Wobblies & Environmentalists Take on Tree Nazis. . . *and Win!*

Washington activists, with support from Oregon ecologists and labor unionists, last month won a temporary reprieve from corporate logging of one stretch of virgin old growth along the White Salmon River, but have launched a series of protests to keep another tract from immediate clearcutting.

A 30-day restraining order was handed down in late October temporarily preventing Stevenson, Daubenspeck and Stevenson (SDS) corporation from clearcutting the timber from a 40-acre parcel of extremely sensitive old growth white oak trees it owns on land in the National Scenic River boundary.

Meanwhile, SDS has gone ahead with plans to cut mature timber from a parcel of land within hundreds of yards of the river's banks. Protests by White Salmon residents in Hood River Oct. 24 resulted in one arrest, while an Earth First! support group in Portland staged simultaneous actions at the Heathman Hotel, an SDS subsidiary.

The White Salmon River was designated a National Scenic River by Congress under the 1986 Columbia Gorge Act. But federal lawmakers failed to provide interim protective language and aquisition funds, putting the operation under the control of U.S. Forest Service officials who consider the planned clearcuts the best use of taxpayers' money.

Residents along the river have been working all year with the Columbia Gorge Coalition, Sierra Club Legal Defense and others to have the land included within the White Salmon National Scenic River designation put under the trust of the National Parks Service, rather than the Forest Service.

The environmental groups, along with White Salmon residents Dennis and Bonnie White and The Trust for Public Lands had also spent the past several months negotiating with SDS for the Trust to purchase the acreage, in an effort to put the old growth in friendly hands.

The corporation backed out of negotiations, after allegedly skyrocketing the price of the land to discourage conservationists' efforts. SDS officials have announced plans to build a resort at Spring Creek, one of the most sensitive old growth areas remaining on the White Salmon. The corporation denies the timber qualifies as old growth, and White Salmon activists have fought the planned cut since last spring.

Finally, SDS officials announced in mid-October they would go ahead immediately with plans to clearcut the timber, and began work at the site. Activists scrambled for a court order to delay the destruction.

"This outrage is the last straw," said Dennis White. "SDS Lumber, whose owners have made millions of dollars



profit selling lands for Gorge protection, is trying to rush logging of old growth oaks while we have appeals pending."

"It's especially sinister because this parcel was in public ownership and secretly transferred to SDS without the knowledge of neighboring landowners," White Said.

Friends of the White Salmon joined with Earth First! and Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) organizers Oct. 15 to picket the Heathman Hotel in downtown Portland, one of SDS' many business holdings. The corporation also owns Mount Hood Meadows, the Greenwood Inn, a ski resort at Mount Bachelor and another resort at Black Butte, among other lucrative businesses.

The protesters handed out hundreds of informational leaflets and plugged traffic on the busy streetcorner with signs decrying the corporation's environmental policies and long history of workers exploitation. An agent emerged from the hotel and photographed the picketers, while the line of traffic honked continuously in support of the protesters' action.

Billy Don Robinson, IWW activist and former employee of SDS, described the 1986 logging accident he suffered while working for the corporation on a site called Underwood Mountain, where he said the company also rushed to clearcut areas slated for government protection, before officials enacted cutting bans.

Robinson said that during his term in the mills, RARE 2 evaluations - instituted by the federal government to obtain input on corporate policies and practices - were passed out onsite. "They told us how they wanted us to fill them out and to fill them out before the end of the shift," Robinson said. The questionaires were then sent back to the government officials and made to look as if they were from random addresses.

"The truth was everyone knew that if they wanted to keep their job they had to do what the boss said," Robinson said. "It's another clear example of SDS circumventing the law."

The recent court order buys time for activists' appeals for official protection of the White Salmon old growth in Spring Creek. The organizers said that if cutting proceeds, they may enact a full boycott of SDS business interests.

For more information, or to send contributions to help cover legal fees, write to Friends of the White Salmon River, P.O. Box 155, White Salmon, Wa., 98672.

Lisa Loving

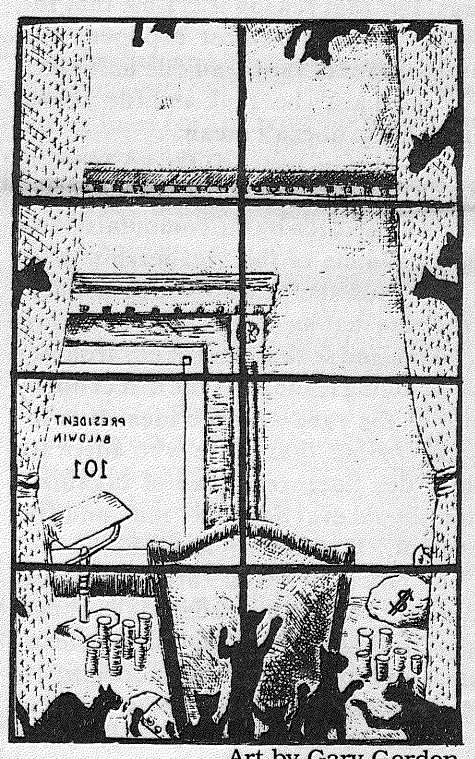
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The Old Guy Eats His Reviews

What is the God-Price in this game?
I play to the Gods, you know.
"But the people pay!"
Well, if they do than I am a beggar.
To the Gods the act itself is sufficient;
I pay then to perform it.
"And what do the Gods demand?"
That to do well, I must endure praise.
"And if there were no praise?"
Exactly.
In former times, I would have
augured rain.
or foretold the earthquake,
applauded only by the clear echoes
of an empty grove. To the Gods
the act itself *is* sufficient
Now - a full hall - a fair wage -
I skin a light bark of wood
over a darker wave - Old Earth's
dying. *I* praise now; the
irony is cómplete.
One night, soon, the Gods,
weary of their sport, will give
me back my true voice, and all of you,
patrons, judges, in your bought seats,
will take to the drowning seats
and wade home, I trust, before the
buildings fall. Hubris!
Again, the irony is complete.

Utah Phillips

from the collection "The Old Guy" available or $6 from the Brownell Library Press, ox 1235, Nevada City, CA 95959



Art by Gary Gordon

Dissenters win in UAW, OCAW

In the officialdom of American labor, nothing is more valued than institutional loyalty, and no one more reviled than a "union dissident." Among elected and appointed national union pay-rollers, rank-and-file critics of the "labor bureaucracy" are viewed with great annoyance and disdain.

Most membership complaints about unresponsive leadership are, after all, directed at labor's full-time officials, and the targets - deserving or not - don't like it. They invariably respond with vehement accusations of their own that their critics are "reds," "union-busters," or "agents of the employers."

For these rare traitors to the cause of political conformity and top-down control, the risks are high in most unions. Given the institutional resources arrayed against them in the many labor organizations that function, on the national level, like one-party states, the dissenters' fate usually includes electoral defeat, loss of employment, and political exile.

This summer, however, two of the labor movement's most articulate and dynamic top-level rebels have turned this scenario on its head. After considerable periods in the political wilderness of their respective unions, both Tony Mazzochi of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) and Jerry Tucker of the United Auto Workers (UAW) have made amazing comebacks and succeeded in regaining union office.

Their victories are a source of encouragement to those in the labor movement who favor greater internal democracy and membership control over union affairs. Needless to say, Tucker and Mazzochi's many official detractors, who feel more comfortable with the status quo than stirrings of reform, are not glad to see them back in positions of leadership.

Mazzochi is new national secretary-treasurer of the 100,000-member OCAW. Tucker was elected Sept. 2 as director of the Auto Workers Region 5, which covers eight midwestern and southwestern states with more than 80,000 UAW members.

Mazzochi's election has given new life to recently derailed merger negotiations between the OCAW and the United Mine Workers (UMW). If successful, these talks could unite two unions that face many common employers of the energy industry. As a national officer of the OCAW and perhaps as a key player in any merged organization, Mazzochio will continue his long-standing promotion of more aggressive organizing and corporate campaign strategies, union internationalism, and labor-based third-party politics.

Tucker, meanwhile, joins a 22-member UAW executive board that has not had a dissenting voice in its midst for 40 years. Like Mazzochi, he is critical of concession bargaining and labor-management cooperation schemes that undermine union organization on the shop floor. He believes that top-level union resistance to open debate and and discussion of labor's problems weakens and demoralizes the membership. The victory of his "New Directions" movement in Region 5 is likely to spawn challenges to other incumbant UAW regional directors who are up for re-election at the union's national convention next summer.

Mazzochi's election came about, in part, because of an unusual reconciliation between one-time opponents in the union. When the 61-year-old former OCAW vice-president and legislative director ran as insurgent candidate for the union presidency in 1979 and 1981, he sought to rally the rank-and-file behind a more militant, class-conscious trade union program.

The OCAW establishment, with the AFL-CIO very much on its side, closed ranks against him to secure his defeat by a handful of votes in two bitter contests. In both races, Mazzochi's record as an innovator, coalition-builder and pioneering advocate of occupational safety and health legislation was distorted and turned against him in smear campaigns that linked him to environmentalists and other "radical outsiders" who were allegedly trying to destroy OCAW jobs in nuclear power plants and oil refineries.

In the past few years, however, the oil and chemical companies' relentless at-

Continued on page 12

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of IWW Branches & Delegates

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LOUISIANA. Shreveport IWW Group, PO Box 37581, Shreveport, 71133.
MARYLAND. Baltimore Area General Membership Branch, PO Box 33528, Baltimore 21218. Rosana Marino, Branch Sec'y. Meets 2nd Wednesday each month. Regional Organizing Committee, Greg Buckingham, Chair, Rt. 1, Box 137 A, Arvonia, VA 23004.
MASSACHUSSETTS. Boston Area General Membership Branch, Box 454, Cambridge 02139. (617) 469-5162. * Berkshire Learning Center Job Branch. 35 Curtis Terrace, Pittsfield, 01201.
MICHIGAN. Southeast Michigan General Membership Branch. 42 South Summit, Ypsilanti, 48197. (313) 483-3478. Metings second Monday each month at Room 4001 of the Michigan Union. * People's Wherehouse I.U. 660 Job Branch c/o Sarah Rucker, 727 West Ellsworth Road, Ann Arbor 48104. * Grand Rapids IWW, PO Box 211, Comstock Park, 49321. * Delegate, 1101 Cottage Row, Hancock 49930.
MINNESOTA. Minneapolis-St. Paul General Membership Branch (Nancy Collins, Delegate) PO Box 2245, St. Paul, 55102. Meetings third Wednesday each month.
MONTANA. Western Montana General membership Branch. 415 N. Higgins, Room 104, Missoula. Open Monday thru Saturday, 12-5. (800) 873-4000 or (406) 721-3000. A. L. Nurse, Delegate. Address all correspondence to IWW Branch, PO Box 8562, Missoula, 59807.
NEW YORK. New York General Membership Branch, Box 183, New York 10028. * Rochelle Semel, Delegate, PO Box 172, Fly Creek 13337. (607) 293-6489. * Jackie Panish, Delegate, PO Box 372, Rego Park, 11374. (212) 868-1121. * John Hansen, 302 Avenue C, Brooklyn, 11218. (718) 854-2692. * Robert Young, Delegate, Box 920, Wingdale 12594. * Joseph O'Shea, * Delegate, Winkler's Farm, Towner's Road, Carmel 10512.
OHIO. Southwest Ohio General Membership Branch and General Defense Committee #1, PO Box 26381, Dayton 45426. * SW Ohio General Defense Committee Local #3 c/o John Perotti #167712, PO Box 45699, Lucasville 45699-0001.
PENNSYLVANIA. Tom Hill, Delegate, Box 41928, Philadelphia 19101.
SOUTH CAROLINA. Harbinger Publications IU 450 Job Branch, 18 Bluff Road, Columbia 29201. (803) 254-9398.
TEXAS. Gilbert Mers, Delegate, 7031 Kernel, Houston 77087. (713) 921-0877.
VIRGINIA. Richmond IWW Group. PO Box 4584, Richmond, VA 23233-8584. (804) 353-4023. * Greg Buckingham, Rte. 1, Box 137A, Arvonia 23004.
WASHINGTON. Bellingham General Membership Branch, Box 1386, Bellingham 98227. * Seattle General Membership Branch, 3238 33rd Ave. South, Seattle 98144. * Spokane IWW Group, PO Box 1273, Spokane, 99210. * Tacoma/Olympia General membership Branch & General Defence Committee Local #4 (the *"Wesley Everest Gang"*) 2115 South Sheridan, Tacoma 98405. (206) 272-8119.
WISCONSIN. Madison General Membership Branch, PO Box 2605, Madison, 53701. (608) 251-1937 or 249-4287.

IWW BRANCH NEWS

ANN ARBOR

The IU 660 Job Branch at People's Wherehouse in Ann Arbor is engaged in a struggle over who controls the workplace. The Wherehouse is owned by a state-wide federation of consumer food co-ops and workers there have had an IWW contract for five years.

This struggle intensified earlier this fall when a labor-busting general manager was hired. The manager's announced unwillingness to abide by any provisions of the contract was met with solidarity by the workers. When one worker was fired without cause or adherence to contractual procedures the union responded with mass grievances.

Shop floor representatives told the bosses - management and the co-op federation council - that the workers would protect the contract by any appropriate action. The IWW refused to be busted. A history of job actions and a high-level of moral and solidarity in the job branch convinced the board that the workers were not bluffing. The union-busting general manager was forced to resign after less than a month on the job.

This was the fourth general manager at the Wherehouse this year. In addition, three department managers have left. This chaotic management situation has been answered by worker participation and control in the workplace, things guaranteed in the contract. The business is doing as well or better than it did with bosses making the decisions.

DENVER-BOULDER

Howdy! We're busy as ever, spending much of our time working with the Denver Post Newspaper Mailers Union Local #8. You may recall that after a 50% wage cut, they came to us for support and assistance. We continue to give picket line support (they're not on strike; it's an informational and boycott picket) and leaflet outside establishments of their advertisers to inform consumers, and encourage their subscription cancellations. The Mailers continue to invite us to all their rallies and events. They put together a "Bushville" tent city outside the courthouse (which was co-opted into the Dukakis campaign, unfortunately, but did give them some media coverage). They also organized a progressive event; a meeting of all crafts of both Denver's papers - a good step toward industrial unionism and solidarity.

Our branch has also assisted the Colorado Labor Forum (CLF) in throwing a benefit for the mailers Novemeber 4th at the IBEW Hall, which featured a sing-along by fellow worker Ellen Klaver, literature from RIP (Radical Information Project) and plenty of great Mexican food. Fellow worker Dexter Herda wrote a song for the occasion, printed below.

Our other main project is the monument for the Columbine miners, which we continue to work on. A goal date is set for some time in the spring. We're receiving much support and some funding from various sources, which we greatly appreciate, and continue to accept; if anyone is inclined to help, send donations to RIP, 2412 E. Colfax, Denver CO).

Fellow Workers Lowell May and David Frazer attended the Conference on Workers' Self-Organization in St. Louis last month and we're excited to hear their reports on the weekend.

It'll Be Alright
(Tune: Bob Dylan's Don't Think Twice, *new words by Dexter Herda)*

There ain't no use to sit and wonder why, boss,
If you don't know by now.
There ain't no use for no indignant sigh, boss,
When you treat me like a sow.
I'm standing and a' thinking
Out on the picket line,
Why I eat fast food burgers
Instead of steak and wine.
I gave you loyal labor
And you treat me like a swine,
But don't think twice, it's alright.

Anti-foriegner propoganda, boss
Can't divide us anymore.
Solidarity with workers across the globe, boss
Show the real enemy the door.
You pit black against white,
Woman against man;
Use half the working class
To kill the other if you can,
But borderless class consciousness
Is gonna spoil your plan.
Don't think twice, it's alright.

Pollution, war, crime and poverty, boss
That's the residue of you.
Addiction, incest and spouses abuse, boss,
Coping skills come unglued.
Despite reforms within the system,
Oppression's overload
Tears families apart,
But hope is down the road.
Worker control will heal
And replace what you corrode,
But don't think twice, it's alright.

SEATTLE

Stan Anderson and Allen Anger (who came down from Tacoma) were interviewed on KIRO - one of Seattle's top radio stations and a CBS affiliate - in mid-November and spent the length of the half hour interview discussing the IWW's program, touching specifically upon current activities such as the IU 670 drive, environmental direct action, and plans for a labor support center the Seattle Wobs hope to establish in the near future.

Stan Anderson has been invited to speak at a forum called "Justice in the Workplace" at Seattle University on December 3rd, an event co-sponsored by the Evergreen State Peace Mission (a state-wide coalition) and Seattle University's Peace and Justice Center. Stan will be speaking about democracy within the workplace.

SOLIDARITY

AVAILABLE FROM IWW LOCALS

- ☐ Out of the Depths (best book on the Ludlow Massacre). $10 postpaid from Gary Cox, PO Box 478, Johnstown, CO 80534. Checks payable to the Colorado Labor Forum. (All proceeds to P-9).
- ☐ A Workers' Guide To Direct Action. .50 from NY IWW, PO Box 183, NY 10028
- ☐ Introduction To The IWW .10 each; Bulk Rate 40% prepaid, from San Francisco IWW, PO Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140.
- ☐ *Solidarity Bulletin* (monthly publication) $10/year from Vancouver IWW, PO Box 65635, Vancouver, BC, Canada, V5N 3K5.
- ☐ Wobbly T-Shirts, $10 postpaid from Denver-Boulder IWW Branch, P.O. Box 478, Johnstown, CO, 80534.

DISCOUNTS FOR BULK ORDERS

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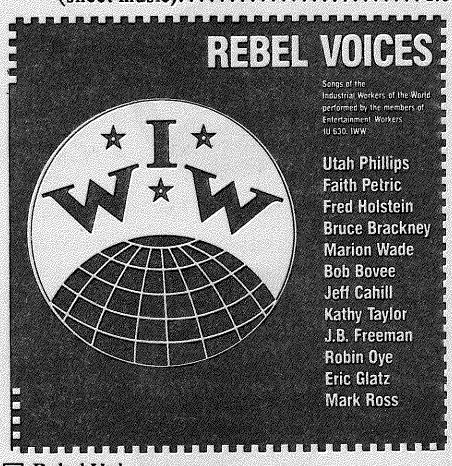
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- ☐ $18 for a $5 copy bundle each month
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- ☐ $____as a donation to the IW *Sustaining Fund*

BOOKS
FOR REBEL WORKERS

IWW PUBLICATIONS

- ☐ One Big Union (about the IWW) 1.25
- ☐ The General Strike *by Ralph Chaplin*. . . . 2.50
- ☐ IWW Songs: The Little Red Songbook. 2.50
- ☐ Collective Bargaining Manual. 2.50
- ☐ Workers' Guide to Direct Action. 35
- ☐ Unions and Racism. 1.00
- ☐ Metal Workers' Guide to Health & Safety 50
- ☐ A Quiz on You and the Arms Race 10
- ☐ The IWW: Its First 70 Years *by Fred Thompson* cloth 15.00 paper. . . 4.95
- ☐ History of the IWW in Canada. 50
- ☐ The Rebel Girl *by Joe Hill* (sheet music). 1.00



- ☐ Rebel Voices *(LP record/IWW Songs - no discount)* 8.95
- ☐ We Have Fed You All for 1000 Years (LP record/IWW Songs - no discount) . . 8.50
- ☐ IWW Preamble and Constitution 1.00



IWW POSTERS *by Carlos Cortez*
☐ Lucy Parsons ☐ Joe Hill ☐ General Strike
☐ Fat Cat ☐ Huegla General ☐ Ben Fletcher
☐ Draftees of the World, Unite
. 10.00 postpaid

BOOKS FROM OTHER PUBLISHERS

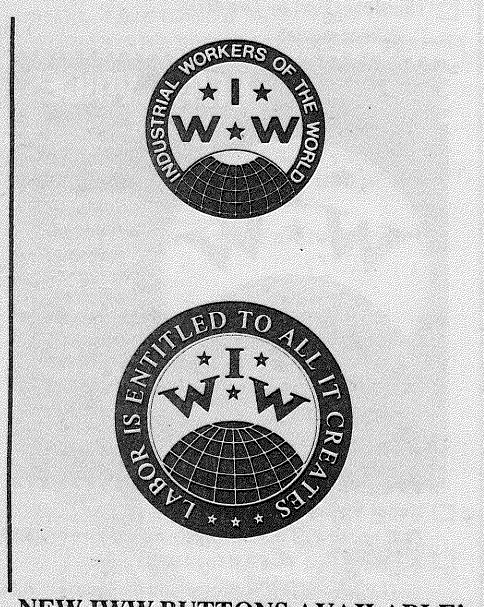
- ☐ Rebel Voices: *An IWW Anthology* 18.95
- ☐ Solidarity Forever: *An Oral History of the IWW* 8.95
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- ☐ Roll the Union On: *Pictorial History of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union* 7.95
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- ☐ Haymarket Scrapbook 14.95
- ☐ Haymarket Postcards (set of 28). 12.00
- ☐ Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning the Haymarket Anarchists 3.95
- ☐ Crime and Criminals *by Clarence Darrow* 2.50
- ☐ You Have No Country! Workers Struggle Against War *by Mary E. Marcy* 4.50
- ☐ Dreams and Dynamite *Poems by Covington Hall*. 3.95
- ☐ Mr. Block: IWW Cartoons *by Ernest Riebe* 4.95
- ☐ Life & Deeds of Uncle Sam *by Oscar Ameringer*. 3.95
- ☐ Rise and Repression of Radical Labor. 3.95
- ☐ The Flivver King: A Story of Ford-America *by Upton Sinclair*. 7.95
- ☐ The Soul of Man Under Socialism *by Oscar Wilde*. 3.95
- ☐ Didactic Verses *by Henry Pfaff*. 2.00

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PLEASE SEND ALL ORDERS TO:
I.W.W.
3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202
Chicago, Illinois, 60657

Convention Minutes Now Available

The minutes of the 45th General Convention are now available through IWW General Headquarters in Chicago. With a total of 86 pages, including a contents page and an appendix, even those who participated in this year's convention will have use for this verbatim report. They're available in limited supply, and we're asking for $5 per copy (pre-paid) to defray costs of production and postage. Available to IWW members and archivists only. Order your copy now . . . they'll soon be gone.



NEW IWW BUTTONS AVAILABLE!

Available for purchase these are the best-looking IWW buttons we've seen outside of museums and private collections. They're black on red (and the larger one has gold lettering on the outside ring), and you have a choice between the words "Industrial Workers of the World" and "Labor is Entitled to All it Creates." These buttons are based upon the design of the IWW buttons which our members were wearing around 1915, and they are so striking you'll want to order them by the bulk! Send in your orders now! $1.00 per button, and the usual discounts apply.

Order Today!

Dissenters Win in UAW, OCAW

Continued from page 10

tack on the union have undermined its bargaining power and membership base far more than the Sierra Club ever could. Many of Mazzochi's ideas - which he continued to develop on the fringes of the union as a free-lance labor educator and consultant - began to be implemented, out of desperation, by OCAW leaders who had once opposed him.

Earlier this year, OCAW President Joseph Misbrenner invited Mazzochi to join a unity slate of candidates formed to fend off a conservative challenge by the union's then secretary-treasurer. Running together as an "Alliance for Progress" Misbrenner and Mazocchi both won.

"As we worked together, we both learned to agree to disagree," Mazzochi explains. "If you look at the announcement of our candidacy, it says diversity is unusual for a trade union - rather than having a situation where you either go along or else."

In Tucker's UAW, there is little evidence yet of a similar conciliatory atitude or respect for political pluralism. Tucker was able to prevail only after costly litigation and a government-supervised re-run of the regional director's election he lost in 1986 due to Landrum-Griffen Act violations by the incumbent and his paid staffers.

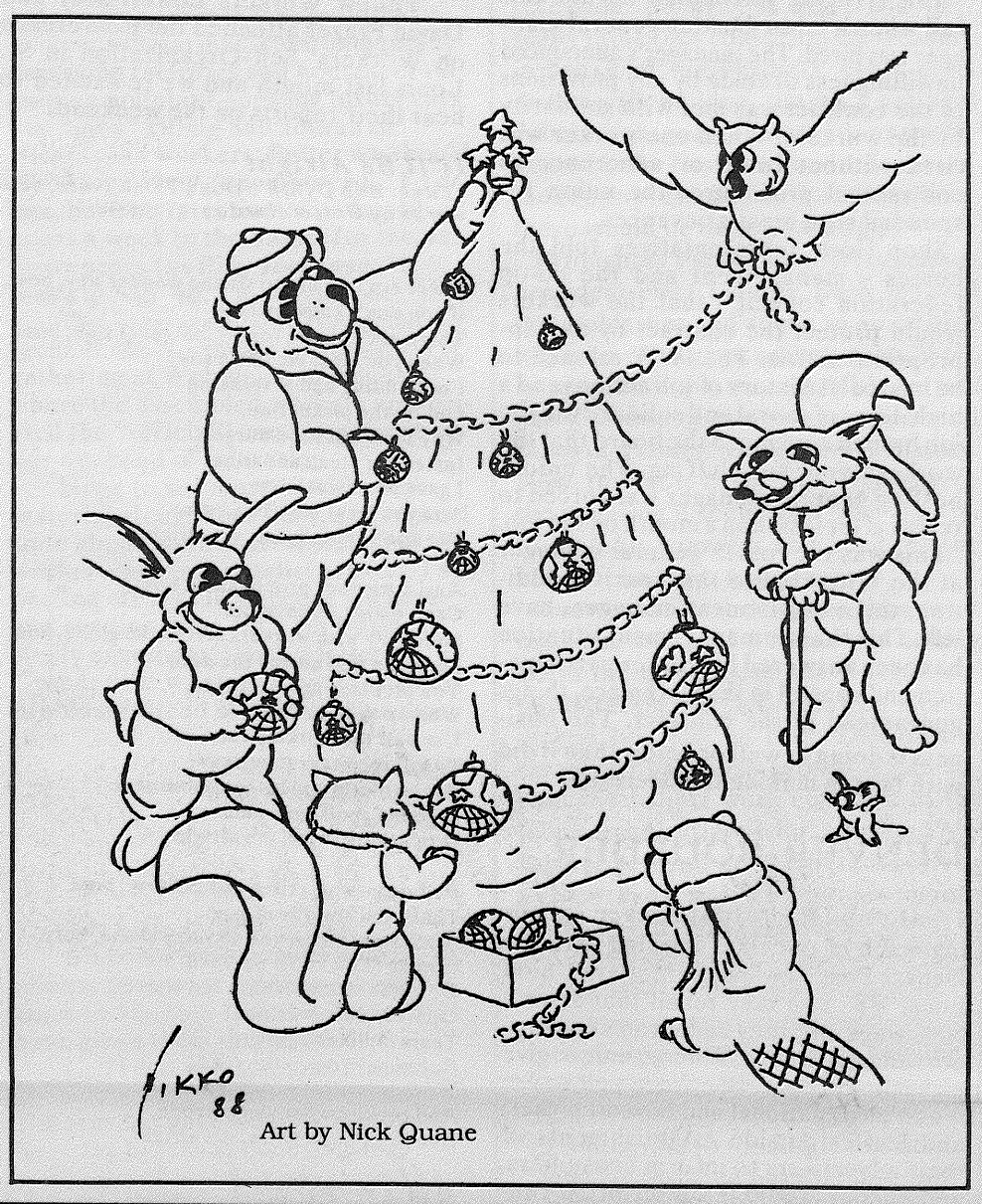
In an effort to drive him out of union politics for good, Tucker was also fired from his own UAW staff job despite 16 years of industrious service. He had to spend the last two years keeping his St. Louis-based "New Directions" caucus together, while he lived off the voluntary contributions of his supporters.

Among those backers are many younger white, black, Hispanic and female UAW members who share Tucker's dissatisfaction with the direction of the union. At 49, he will be the youngest person on the UAW Executive Board; his defeated opponent and one-time boss had the highest seniority in the group and was one of its oldest members.

Instead of welcoming Tucker and what he represents as a breath of fresh air, however, the UAW leadership appears determined to crush him and restore administration control over his region as soon as possible. Tucker's supporters are, meanwhile, committed to making the most of their opportunity to run the union differently. "We can be a beacon," Tucker said after his victory, "for the rest of the UAW to look to for how democratic unionism produces results for workers that elite, closed-door unionism can't."

James Connolly

"James Connolly" is a longtime observer of the labor movement.



Art by Nick Quane

DON'T BUY

Boycotts are an effective and time-honored means by which citizens can support the struggles of fellow workers. The following companies produce the named products by imposing conditions hostile to the workers involved:

Ace Drill Corp.
Wire jobber and letter drills, routers and steel bars

Advertising Corp. of America
Pocket calendars and desk diaries

Armour Processed Meats Company
Ham, bacon, hot dogs (but not Armour-Dial processed meats)

BASF A.G. Corporation
Video and audio tape, computer disks, Lurotin brand vitamins, Alugard 340-2 protectant anti-freeze

Blue Cross/Blue Shield of Memphis, TN
Carrier of Union health plan

Brown & Sharpe Mfg. Company
Measuring, cutting and machine tools and pumps

Bruce Church, Inc.
Red Coach, Friendly, Green Valley Farms and Lucky brands of iceberg lettuce

California Table Grapes
Those grapes that do not come in crates identified with the Black Eagle insignia of the United Farm Workers

Clark Grave Vault Company
Copper and steel burial vaults

Colt Firearms Company
Manufacturers of handguns and rifles

Consumers Union
Publishers of *Consumer Reports* magazine and *Consumer Reports Annual Buying Guide*

Faberge, Inc.
Personal Care Products: Aqua Net hair spray, Brut, Ceramic Nail Glaze, Farrah Fawcett and Faberge Organics.

Fort Howard Paper Company
Mardi-Gras, Page, SoftKnit tissues and napkins, Antique towels, Pomettes, Econ and Dolly Madison tissues

Holiday Paper Cups

Indiana Desks

Louisiana-Pacific Corp
Brand name wood products

Marval/Rocco Turkey, Inc.
All products bearing USDA stamp #P-18

Napa Valley Co-op Winery
Bergfield Wine

Nixdorff-Lloyd Chain Company
Heavy-duty chains sold in hardware stores. The Nixdorff-Lord brand name appears on the chain spool

Plymouth Rubber Company

Rome Cable Corp.
Cables used in the mining and constructon industry

Schnadig Corp.
"International" and "Karpen" upholstered furniture

R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company

Seattle First National Bank

Shell Oil Company
(to protest the company's ill-treatment of blacks in South Africa)

Soho Mfg. Company, Inc.
Garments sold under the Prezzia and Hunter's Run labels.

Sterling Radiator
Baseboard heaters for the home

United States Playing Card Co.

And remember to support these ongoing boycotts:

Avon Products
Cosmetics and home products

Hormel Products
SPAM, Dinty moore Stews, Mary Kitchen Roast Beef and Corned Beef Hash, Cure 81 Hams, Curemaster Hams, Black Label Bacon and Ham, Super Select Pork, Rosa Pepperoni, Great Beginnings products, Range Brand Bacon, Old Smokehouse Barbacue Sauce, McKinley Pack, Top Shelf, Dubuque Products, Jennie-O, Farm Fresh Catfish.

Juvenile Shoe Corp.
Children's shoes: Lazy Bones, Clinic, Sandpipers, Foot Thrills, Hitch Hikers, Happy Steppers, GPO, Dude Ranch, Camp Hocs, Cradle Steppers, Gloveal

Morrell
Morrell meat products

Products of Chile
Wine, fruits, etc.

TWA Airline
Passenger and freight transpotation